DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 265 246 UD 024 646

AUTHOR	Sheehan, Barry A., Ed.
TITLE	Comparative and International Studies and the Theory and Practice of Education. Proceedings of the Annual Conference of the Australian Comparative and International Education Society (11th, Hamilton, New Zealand, August 21-24, 1983).
INSTITUTION	La Trobe Univ., Bundoora (Australia). Centre for Comparative and International Studies in Education.
REPORT NO	ISBN-0-85816-525-2
PUB DATE	83
NOTE	497p.; For individual papers, see UD 024 647-668.
AVAILABLE FROM	Dr. K. L. Grose, Centre for Social and Cultural Studies, University of New England, Armidale, New South Wales 2351, Australia ($36.00--Australian).
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Conference Proceedings (021) -- Reports - General (140)
EDRS PRICE	MF02/PC20 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Colonialism; *Comparative Education; *Educational History; *Educational Policy; Educational Practices; Elementary Secondary Education; *Foreign Countries; Higher Education; *International Education; Politics of Education; *Research Methodology

ABSTRACT

Papers presented at a conference on comparative and international education, sponsored by the Australian Comparative and International Education Society, are collected in this document. The 26 papers are divided into three sections. The first section, entitled "Reflections on the Contribution of Comparative and International Studies to the Theory and Practice of Education," discusses the role and values of perspectives from the fields of comparative, international, development, and multicultural education. Research paradigms and methodologies are discussed, as well as issues of multiculturalism both within and among countries. The second section, "Schooling, Policies and Practices," has an international focus and for the most part does not address theoretical issues, but concentrates on a variety of educational policies and practices in different countries. Finally, the third section, "Colonialism and Education: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives," discusses colonialism and the transition of education models. (KH)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED265246

COMPARATIVE AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES AND THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF EDUCATION

BARRY A. SHEEHAN
editor

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
K. L. GROVE
Australian Comparative + International Education Society
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

UD024646

Australian Comparative and
International Education
Society

COMPARATIVE AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES AND THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF EDUCATION

BARRY A. SHEEHAN
editor

Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Conference of the Australian Comparative and International Education Society
University of Waikato
Hamilton, New Zealand
21-24 August, 1983

© 1983. The various contributors.

NATIONAL LIBRARY OF AUSTRALIA

ISBN 0 85816 525 2 (for distinctive title)
ISSN 0 811-9228 (for series: Annual Conference Proceedings - Australian Comparative and International Education Society)

Published by the Centre for Comparative and
International Studies in Education, School of
Education, La Trobe University, Bundoora, Vic.
for the A.C.I.E.S.

July 1983

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

INTRODUCTION (vii)

SECTION ONE: REFLECTIONS ON THE CONTRIBUTION OF COMPARATIVE AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES TO THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF EDUCATION.

1. CASE STUDY IN COMPARATIVE AND INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION: AN APPROACH TO BRIDGING THE THEORY-PRACTICE GAP.
   Michael Crossley and Robin Burns,
   Centre for Comparative and International Studies in Education, La Trobe University. 1

2. EDUCATION AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY: RECENT DEVELOPMENT OF POLICY IN AUSTRALIA.
   Rosita M. Holenbergh,
   School of Education, Macquarie University. 19

3. APPLYING EMPIRICAL METHODS IN COMPARATIVE EDUCATION: AN EXAMPLE.
   Emmanuel Gauci,
   Ethnic Communities Council of Victoria. 57

4. TOWARDS A METHODOLOGY FOR THE STUDY OF AUSTRALIAN MULTI-CULTURAL EDUCATIONAL APPROACHES.
   J. Benoit and Alan Cumming,
   Centre for Social and Cultural Studies in Education, University of New England. 78

5. THE METHODOLOGY OF COMPARATIVE EDUCATION AND ITS CLARIFICATION AS A BASIS FOR ITS CONTRIBUTION TO THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF EDUCATION.
   Doug White,
   Centre for the Study of Educational Innovation, La Trobe University. 101

6. EDUCATIONAL COMPARISONS AND THE EDUCATOR.
   Keith Simkin,
   Centre for Comparative and International Studies in Education, La Trobe University. 108

7. THE FUNCTIONALIST TRADITION AND COMPARATIVE EDUCATION
   Anthony R. Welch,
   Centre for Social and Cultural Studies in Education, University of New England. 125

8. COMPARATIVE EDUCATION: PHOENIX OR DODO?
   Barry A. Sheehan,
   Centre for Comparative and International Studies in Education, La Trobe University. 161

TABLE OF CONTENTS (cont'd.)

PAGE

9. EDUCATIONAL GERONTOLOGY: AN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE.
David Battersby,
Education Department, Massey University. 179

10. HOW NOT TO DO COMPARATIVE EDUCATION.
Peter West,
Nepean College of Advanced Education. 189

11. COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE CLASSROOM CONTROL BEHAVIOUR OF 'GOOD' TEACHERS.
Malcolm Lovegrove and Ramon Lewis,
School of Education, La Trobe University;
Charles Fall,
State University of New York at Buffalo and
H. Lovegrove,
Victoria College, Melbourne. 197

SECTION TWO: SCHOOLING, POLICIES AND PRACTICES.

12 EDUCATIONAL ISSUES IN CONTEMPORARY JAPAN.
Kaori Okano,
Department of Education, University of Sydney. 215

13. THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN REINFORCING THE GROUP MODEL IN JAPANESE SOCIETY.
Kevin Collins,
Centre for Comparative and International Studies in Education, La Trobe University. 226

14. MONTESSORI AND KRISHNAMURTI: A COMPARISON OF THEIR EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHIES AND SCHOOLS IN PRACTICE IN THE U.S. AND INDIA.
Jan Currie,
School of Education, Murdoch University, and
Jim Breadmore,
Western Australian Institute of Technology. 239

15. POT AND PARTIES ON THE BEACH, PROCESSIONS AND PIETY IN THE VILLAGE: TWO SIGNIFICANT LEARNING EXPERIENCES IN GOA.
Robert S. Newman,
Centre for Comparative and International Studies in Education, La Trobe University. 265

16 CHINA-VIETNAM: NOTES ON POPULATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCHOOL PROGRAMS FOR POPULATION EDUCATION.
Stewart E. Fraser,
Centre for Comparative and International Studies in Education, La Trobe University. 287

TABLE OF CONTENTS (cont'd.)

PAGE

17. MAO TO NOW.
Ros Gillespie and Colin Collins,
School of External Studies and Continuing Education,
University of Queensland. 307

18. KIRIBATI: THE SEARCH FOR EDUCATIONAL DIRECTION IN A PACIFIC CONTEXT.
Colin Hindson,
South Australian College of Advanced Education. 332

19. A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF SCHOOL INSPECTION IN NIGERIA.
William P. Palmer,
Goroka Teachers' College, University of Papua New Guinea. 348

SECTION THREE: COLONIALISM AND EDUCATION - HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVES

20. SEA CHANGE: BRITISH MODELS AND COLONIAL MODIFICATIONS IN HIGHER EDUCATION.
David R. Jones,
Centre for the Study of Higher Education, University of Melbourne. 363

21. THE SUNDAY SCHOOL BI-CENTENARY: RAIKES CENTENARY CELEBRATION 1783-1983 - A COLONIAL SALUTE.
Kelvin Grose,
Centre for Social and Cultural Studies in Education,
University of New England. 377

22. GOVERNMENT OR NON-GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS: A BRITISH COLONIAL LEGACY AND ITS AFTERMATH.
Clive Whitehead,
Department of Education, University of Western Australia. 403

23. PRIVATE SCHOOLS AND NATIONAL POLICY: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF AUSTRALIA AND THE U.S.A.
Thomas A. Jones,
Department of Educational Administration, University of Connecticut. 415

24. THE INDIAN UNIVERSITY GRANTS COMMISSION: AN INSTRUMENT OF NATIONAL POLICY.
Dora Briggs and Peter O'Brien,
School of Education, Flinders University. 431

25. MODELS OF UNIVERSITY GOVERNANCE IN AUSTRALIA AND SRI LANKA.
D. Thenuwara Gamage,
Centre for Comparative and International Studies in Education, La Trobe University. 439

TABLE OF CONTENTS (cont'd.)

PAGE

26. TAKING A 'BYTE' OUT OF THE NEW COMPUTER INDUCED CULTURAL IMPERIALISM: A REPORT OF AN AUSTRALIAN INITIATIVE.
H.M. Sungaila,
Centre for Social and Cultural Studies in Education,
University of New England, and
A.R. Shorten, Monash University. 473

INTRODUCTION

After a decade in existence, the Australian Comparative and International Education Society has at last gone genuinely international, and is holding its Eleventh Annual Conference at the University of Waikato in Hamilton, New Zealand, from August 21-24, 1983. There have been suggestions that, given a little pressure from our New Zealand colleagues, the Society might be prepared to consider an appropriate change of name to reflect this new focus.

The 1983 organizers have followed the precedent set by Tony Welch at the Armidale Conference in 1981 by publishing the Proceedings prior to the Conference in the belief that this lends the opportunity for much tighter conference organization and for more reflective discussion of the issues raised in the papers.

SECTION ONE

The theme chosen for the Conference is THE CONTRIBUTION OF COMPARATIVE AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES TO THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF EDUCATION. The theme is intended to cater for a wide range of views about the role and value of perspectives from the fields of comparative, international, development and multicultural education. In relation to the last two of these, it has been interesting to observe in the last few years the shift in the meaning of the term "development education" to the extent that it is now generally accepted as referring to "education about development and development issues", wherever it occurs, and the growth of a flurry of academic activity in this area; and the use of comparative insights and methods applied to multicultural problems in education (even within the confines of a single city). When Cole Brembeck suggested more than a decade ago that these were problems to which comparativists, with their skills and interests, should be turning their attention, he seemed to arouse minimal response and turned his own interests to non-formal education.

At the Conference in Sydney last year, however, John Mallea of OISIE indicated the extent to which he was able to use his comparative skills effectively in the pursuit of multicultural interests within national boundaries. It is a pity that paper has not been published, for it would have sat very well with Rosita Holenbergh's contribution to the present Conference. Holenbergh demonstrates how public policy has placed successive emphases upon assimilation, integration and ethnic rights, power and participation, and the extent to which these have been reflected in migrant and multicultural education. She notes the research on translation of policy into practice within educational systems in the USA, and calls for more comparative studies both within and across schools, relating some key variables to educational outcomes. Emmanuel Gauci attempts to highlight cultural differences in the learning process by the application of psychological measurements and constructs, which suggest that important differences in achievement and in the pattern of influences affecting it are occurring as much within particular minority ethnic groups as between them. Benoit and Cumming adopt an approach which elaborates how the notion of cultural accommodation can emerge from an examination of patterns of colonial domination in the third world and be useful in formulating multicultural educational policies within our schools.

Robin Burns and Michael Crossley explore the potential of case study methods for the improvement of the contribution of comparative and international studies to the theory and practice of education, while a brace of papers by White, Simkin, Welch and Sheehan take issue with various aspects of the research paradigms which have dominated comparative studies (not only in education), and examine their practical implications for education and for the development of the field. Not surprisingly, perhaps, they emerge with a reasonable degree of commonality in their prescriptions.

David Battersby draws attention to the changing demographic structure of our societies in relation to the increasing proportion of elderly people, and examines their specific educational needs in the light of international trends. Battersby's paper complements that of Douglas Ray, presented at the Bendigo conference in 1980, and can also be usefully juxtaposed with that of Stewart Fraser in Section Two.

Peter West adopts a view of national character with which Duverger (who described national character analyses as having the soporific effects of opium in social science, since national character can be made to fit in with anything) would disagree, but it is difficult to deny that there is something about, say, a French novel, or painting or person, which is clearly and constantly recognizable as French! West takes bitter issue by implication with the Section Three paper of Thomas Jones, who draws upon the very study of which West is critical. The final paper in the first section, by Lovegrove _et al_., takes up the call of Kelly, Kazamas and Sheehan, among others, for comparativists to pay more attention to pedagogy, and reports on investigations of teachers' classroom control behaviour using data from Australia, U.S.A. and Norway. The research implicitly highlights a number of the methodological questions taken up in other papers.

SECTION TWO

The second clutch of papers has an international focus and for the most part does not explicitly address theoretical questions. Kaori Okano and Kevin Collins present papers highlighting aspects of education in Japan, while Jan Currie and Jim Breadmore have compared the educational philosophies and practices of Krishnamurti and Montessori schools in India and the USA respectively. This paper also implicitly raises questions which are bound to be addressed by discussants of the first group. Bob Newman's usual format for ACIES papers is an outrageous title followed by a text which is quite serious and challenging. This year is no exception. The paper by Stewart Fraser provides a descriptive account of the demographic realities of China and Vietnam and how they are translating these realities into developing programs. Ros Gillespie and Colin Collins outline changes in economic policy in China since 1976 and attempt to explain the changing position of education.

The paper by Colin Hindson examines a decade of rapid change in the lead up to and the aftermath of independence in Kiribati, and gives us the only paper with a primarily "Pacific" orientation, while Bill Palmer gives an account of the way in which school inspection in Nigeria has changed over the last thirty years.

SECTION THREE

Papers in the final group share themes which relate to the transmission of educational models in both historical and contemporary contexts. David Jones analyses the forces which modified British educational models in the course of their transplantation to the "White Dominions", while Kelvin Grose examines the foundations of the Sunday School Movement, shifts Robert Raikes sideways on his pedestal, and provides a delightful vignette of an Australian Bush Sunday School in 1862. At the time of independence, former British colonies inherited education systems based on the voluntary principle. Clive Whitehead examines the justification for the practice and the contrasting policies adopted towards voluntary schools since independence by the government of Malaysia, Singapore and Fiji respectively.

Tom Jones reports on his research into private schools and national policy in Australia and the USA in a paper which is bound to arouse spirited discussion. Dora Briggs and Peter O'Brien and D. Thenuwara Gamage examine various aspects of higher education policy and governance in India, Sri Lanka and Australia, while the final paper by Helen Sungaila and A.R. Shorten use the work of Altbach on literary colonialism as a starting point and take a provocative look at computer-induced colonialism, raising questions which need urgent consideration.

Overall, this collection of papers is particularly interesting and many of them could be in any of the three sections. One of the weaknesses of comparative education lies in its sheer spread: its practitioners and their interests come from a wide range of disciplines and focus upon vastly different areas of interest under the broad umbrella of "education". But this very eclecticism is also the factor which keeps comparative and international studies a vibrant and challenging field in which to work. The papers reflect this energy.

May I thank the contributors and, in advance, Professor Ian McLaren who has organized the Conference from the New Zealand side and Dr. Bill Renwick, the Director General of the New Zealand Education Department, who will give a keynote address on foreign influences in New Zealand education, which will hopefully be published in the Newsletter later in the year.

BARRY A. SHEEHAN,
Editor.

SECTION ONE

REFLECTIONS ON THE CONTRIBUTION OF COMPARATIVE AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES TO THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF EDUCATION

CASE STUDY IN COMPARATIVE AND INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION: AN APPROACH TO BRIDGING THE THEORY-PRACTICE GAP

MICHAEL CROSSLEY and ROBIN BURNS

INTRODUCTION

This paper explores the potential of case study for the improvement of the contribution of comparative and international studies to the theory and practice of education.

A review of recent literature indicates that our field is in a state of flux, and this we relate to an apparent polarisation between theorists and practitioners. Further, although some theorists have shown the need for greater rigour in research designed to make a contribution to educational policy making and administration, few such studies with a direct practical impact have, as yet, been undertaken.

Our own research has used case study as a way of examining educational issues which provides a grounding in the day-to-day realities of practice but which is both based on, and attempts to contribute to, theory. While case study as a research methodology has its own limitations and critics, it is an eclectic approach in which a variety of research methods can profitably be combined and, as we attempt to show, case study provides a basis for the closer integration of theory and practice.

In this paper we argue that four dimensions or levels are the main concern of comparative and international education, although emphases have differed over time. These levels are: the development and transmission of ideas about education (the 'meta' level); the socio-cultural context in which education takes place (the 'macro' level); the system for organising and disseminating educational practices (the 'meso' level), and the individual institutions where education takes place (the 'micro' level). While much work has focussed on educational systems in their socio-cultural contexts, moves towards other dimensions are now discernible. We attempt to demonstrate that case study can be profitably utilised at all levels of inquiry, and that it offers comparativists a way of incorporating analyses of each level in multi-dimensional studies.

Through case study we also argue that, along with other fields of study, comparativists can add to the contemporary challenge to positivistic and hermeneutic research traditions and advance the development of the critical research paradigm. Such a paradigm does not exclude the use of empirical or historical-phenomenological data, but rather integrates several approaches. This integration enables theory and practice to be interrelated so that each throws critical light upon the other.

THE NATURE OF CASE STUDY

The term case study means different things to different people - and this is often a source of confusion and misunderstanding. As Smith demonstrates, case study has long been used as a framework for research in a variety of disparate fields, including anthropology, psychology and law.[1] The case itself may also take many forms although the focus of inquiry is usually small in scale, as exemplified by the classic case histories documented in clinical psychology, or the detailed accounts of small scale societies undertaken in anthropology. Not only is case study frequently characterised by micro level research but it is also typically descriptive and qualitative in nature, relying upon direct observation and extensive field-work.

Despite its extensive and diverse lineage it is only since the late 1960s that systematic and disciplined case study has assumed prominence within mainstream educational research, and even now it is a mode of inquiry that is 'often regarded with suspicion and even hostility'.[2] Even within comparative and international education itself, where observational studies of schooling flourished for a period during the pre-history of the field,[3] and macro level 'area studies' are commonplace, ambivalent attitudes towards case study research are clearly apparent.

Underlying the reticence of educational researchers, and especially comparative educationalists, are a number of widely held assumptions about the nature of case study. Firstly, in an era still dominated by the influence of positivistic social science methods it is feared that descriptive qualitative research inherently lacks the rigour and discipline of quantitative studies. Description is also regarded as inferior to analytical work, micro-level investigations are criticised for ignoring macro-level issues, and case study is seen to lead away from the act of comparison itself.

On the other hand a review of recent literature in comparative and international education reveals that the field 'has passed through several metamorphoses and crises of identity'[4] and today remains in a state of flux.[5] This flux can be described in a variety of ways, from the diversification of research strategies to the types of problems addressed and the theoretical interpretations invoked. In view of this it is our intention to demonstrate that many of the reservations about case study held by comparativists are based upon false assumptions, and that as a framework for research case study may help resolve at least some of the more fundamental uncertainties and insecurities currently exhibited in the field of comparative and international education.

Perhaps it should be noted at this point that we do not wish to dismiss alternative modes of comparative research or to suggest that case study is the one and only way forward for our field. Nor do we claim that the arguments presented here are immutable or that case study has no weaknesses or limitations of its own. This is an exploratory paper and we invite comment; but we do wish to emphasise that, as an approach to research, case study has much to offer our field in terms of both theory and practice.

THE THEORY-PRACTICE GAP

Present day concern with the nature of comparative research can, to some extent, be traced to recent disillusion with formal education itself. This we relate to an apparent hiatus between educational theory and practice; a hiatus that is manifest in two major forms. Firstly, despite great investment in educational reform throughout the world since the stimulus of Sputnik in the late 1950s, few significant innovations have been effectively translated into practice.[6] Secondly, attempted reforms (including those that have been implemented) are now believed to have brought little of the anticipated economic or social development, or to have generated increased social equality, either within or between nations. As Debeauvais points out:

> We are currently witnessing a reaction against notions that used to lie at the root of the theory of integrated economic and social development, and of the 'human rsources planning' practices associated with it. Two ideas underpinned these conceptions: education is a factor of economic development, and this depends on manpower skills, which are developed by the educational system.[7]

He concludes from this that 'rather than postulate a perfect match between the social order and the economic order, let us rather subject educational questions to critical re-examination ...'[8] We are now in the throes of such questioning!

Simkin, amongst others, argues that theories underlying the relationship between education and the economy reflect both national traditions in comparative research as well as an internationalism that is imperialistic in result if not in intent.[9] The outcome is an ethnocentrism in comparative education which is found in the practice of comparativists as well as in their theories. Nor is the ethnocentrism confined to the work of analysts concerned with development or developing countries. It is also found, to some extent at least, in the nation-specific styles in which comparative education in general is conceived and undertaken.[10]

While this criticism has been levelled at both theorists and practitioners, thus implying that there is a close relationship between the two, in agreement with Parkyn, we also argue that there is a tendency for the work of theorists in comparative and international education to be conducted with insufficient attention to practice - and vice versa.[11]

The term practice needs some clarification. There are two senses in which it is relevant to this paper. The first refers to research conducted for the purpose of educational decision making. Both Debeauvais[12] and Holmes[13] are particularly concerned that comparative education can and should make a contribution in this area, and the history of work within the field testifies to the commitment of others in this respect. In fact, according to Lawson, comparative education has three areas of responsibility: theory, policy and practice.[14] The second sense in which practice is interpreted here refers to education at the 'chalkface': what happens in schools and in other educational programs, formal and non-formal, where learning takes place. It is in this sense of practice that much of the research undertaken by comparativists seems to have least relevance. As Heyman points out, it may be necessary to define the curriculum as 'the way in which the "facts" of education are constituted through people's talk and action', but most comparativists have ignored this process and have thus treated curriculum practice as a dependent variable rather than as problematic.[15] Yet it is here that education is effected, and if as Husén suggests, the study of systems and achievements has provided only general indications of what has happened in education, 'the future may well lie in individual in-depth studies of carefully defined areas'.[16] Indeed, Halls maintains that 'in the act of teaching and learning, which is the central concern of all educational systems, comparative studies could possibly find their principal justification'.[17]

CONTEXT IN COMPARATIVE AND INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

It is suggested that one reason for the lack of attention to practice lies in the way in which comparativists have been employed. Whether working for their own or another government, or for international agencies, it is at the system level that advice has been given. It is not merely such employment that gives rise to a system focus either; it is also the result of a form of self-definition of comparative and international education that has emerged through the attention given to the explanation of national differences in education. And this in turn, it is maintained, is one result of efforts to make comparative education a legitimate 'science', for along with other social sciences, the nation provides a convenient unit for quantitative study and for comparison.[18]

It was indeed a leap forward for comparativists to recognise that education is a sub-system which is linked to, and influenced by, other societal sub-systems. In the disenchantment following the days of optimism in education as a prime factor for social change, there has been a stronger emphasis on analysis of the effects of the other sub-systems upon education - and studies of political and economic influences have been broadened to include cultural and ideological ones.[19]

But rather than providing an opportinity to examine the constraints on educational change or the potential for its promotion in practice, most research has led even further towards macro-analysis and context defined at the national level.

Sensitivity to context in comparative and international education is vital. However, overemphasis on the macro (national) level now constitutes a problem, both for the advancement of theories which can account for educational change, and for practice which may lead to change for teachers and learners and not just the structures within which they work. To cite Halls, 'what new theories have we evolved? What new educational practices have been adopted through our studies? The answer, if we are honest, must be: very few ... Macro-conceptualizing and macro-meliorism have failed'.[20] It is almost as if comparative and international education has become the study of systems, within a national framework. It is the contention of this paper that the selection of units for analysis, and, as will be argued later, the methods used for the analysis, not only limit the theoretical development of comparative and international education, but also its usefulness to educators and their 'clients'.

Focus on the nation and its sub-systems plays down three other dimensions of education: the interplay and transfer of ideas and practices across nations, originating with supranational agencies or even individuals; the differences within a nation which seriously challenge any study based on a concept of an essentially unitary national system; and the school (or other educational institution) as a site for specific events and interactions. One reason for neglecting these dimensions may well be their complexity and the need for new frameworks to study and interpret them. In the following sections therefore, with reference to our own research, we attempt to demonstrate how case study can be profitably employed at all levels of inquiry, and how it offers comparativists a way of incorporating analyses of each level in multi-dimensional studies - without abandoning comparative analysis itself.

Thus, in summary, the four dimensions that we identify as the main concern of comparative and international studies in education are: the development and transmission of ideas about education (the 'meta' level);

the socio-cultural context including the sub-cultures, in which education takes place (the 'macro' level); the systems for organizing and disseminating educational services and practices (the 'meso' level), and the individual institutions in which education takes place (the 'micro' level).

CASE STUDY RESEARCH IN PRACTICE

Our interest in case study for comparative education had different origins, and this is reflected in the nature of our own work. One of the writers was primarily interested in theoretical issues, while the other was initially concerned with the translation of theory into practice. Over the course of time however, both became increasingly sensitised to the interdependence of theory and practice. Both also conducted independent analyses of the process of curriculum change; one in which case study was used as a vehicle to explore the potential of comparative research at the meta and macro levels; the other in which a multi-dimensional case study analysis was conducted, although emphasis was focused on the micro level.

DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION - THEORY AND PRACTICE

The study undertaken by Burns examined the ways in which ideas about education for development have been conceptualised and practised.[21] While major empahsis was given to developed countries, this was for convenience rather than exclusion. The basic question asked was: how has the idea of education for development been conceived, and what are the main factors in similarities and differences in conception and practice in different educational settings? The investigation was, in effect, a case study of a set of educational ideas, about both the content and the methods of teaching, and within that, two main approaches were taken.

The first involved a tracing of the development and change of ideas. This was undertaken through extended participation in some of the organisations and meetings, local, national and international, which over a period of ten years have been involved in the formulation of development education concepts and practice. An interview survey encompassing ten countries was also undertaken. The aim of this phase of the research was to identify the sources of ideas - in literature (both on education and development) as well as in the experience and work of agencies at international, national and local levels, intergovernmental, governmental and non-governmental. It also examined the writings and practice of educators.

The second approach consisted of two national case studies, one in Australia and the other in Sweden, based on anthropological precepts. Briefly this necessitated learning the language (in the case of Sweden), participant observation, the identification of informants and the cross-checking of data. In each case this was done both from a base in a university department of education and from involvement in organisations concerned with education for development.

By putting material derived from the two approaches (and dimensions) together it was found that a body of ideas and experience had developed which was based on the field experiences of members of agencies and inspired by particular critical writings on development. Some reference was also made by informants to changes in educational ideas and practices, although most were vague about the particular ideas and were critical of the failure of educational systems to be more adaptive to them. In the first instance, it was in non-formal settings that the ideas were tried, and only then were attempts made to influence formal schools, through a dual approach. Attempts were made to draw attention to the need for curriculum to focus on development issues, and to do so in new pedagogical ways, and attempts were also made to influence teachers directly, to by-pass the existing structures and curriculum in order to directly incorporate the new content and processes in their day-to-day work.

Such work was found to be taking place in all the nations surveyed, and most informants pointed to similar sets of ideas as their inspiration. A cross-national and cross-cultural movement was thus discerned whose object was to change the ways in which knowledge about development and ways of transmitting that knowledge take place in a variety of educational settings. While continuing to focus on this movement, two sets of differences were identified. The first was in the interpretation of development and of ways to learn about it. This had a twofold source, in different theories of development and different educational theories.

The second was in the particular emphasis in and constraints placed on the task within specific contexts. Two major contexts were discerned. The first was the type of agency and its purposes (e.g. development assistance or mainly education, local, national or international). The second was the potential and constraints imposed within a nation, stemming from the socio-cultural and the educational systems in both their national and local expressions. These contexts were important in understanding the framework in which ideas and practices were filtered to and from the cross-national and local agency/institutional sources - but examples were found where similar ideas and processes were evident within learning situations in both agencies and school classrooms in quite different national contexts and educational systems.

More detailed work is needed in order to examine the mechanisms for generation and transmission of the concepts and practice of development education, especially at the school level. However, it is suggested that by making the similarities in concepts and practices problematic, rather than the differences, and by conceiving the research as a case study of a set of ideas about content and process, the relationships between the different levels of context can be discerned and this can contribute to a greater understanding of educational practice in the classroom. This in turn has implications for theory building.[22]

SCHOOL CENTRED INNOVATION FOR DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

In contrast, the study conducted by Crossley addressed problems relating to the development and implementation of curriculum innovations, with special reference to the transfer of school centred innovation strategies from developed to developing countries.[23] This issue was seen to offer considerable scope - in both practical and theoretical terms - for original and necessary research, since a review of relevant literature suggests that in recent years there has been a tendency to view school based initiatives as the new panacea for curriculum development and implementation.[24] For example, school centred initiatives are now widely advocated and applied in developing countries, through the influence of Western literature, foreign advisers and international agencies such as the World Bank, Unesco and the IIEP.

More pertinently there remains a paucity of empirical research to substantiate the claims of those promoting school centred innovation (SCI), especially in the Third World context. In the words of Hargreaves:

> When one surveys the SCI literature, what is most striking is the dearth of rigorous, critical and empirically-grounded accounts of particular schemes and projects ... It is disappointing, then, that so little of the SCI literature gives any sense of the dynamics of the decision-making process and its effects on the perceptions, indeed on the motivation and morale, of those involved.[25]

The researcher therefore set out to at least contribute towards increased awareness and understanding of the potential and limitations of school centred innovation for developing countries. International trends in curriculum change strategies were first examined with reference to theoretical models of educational change currently represented in the literature.[26] In the light of research on 'barriers' to curriculum change a critique of the school centred innovation movement was then developed. Working from this barriers to change perspective a detailed case study of the curriculum change strategy adopted by the Secondary Schools Community Extension Project (SSCEP) in Papua New Guinea was conducted. The origins, nature and evolution of this project were documented and its structured school based curriculum development strategy was critically examined from both theoretical and empirical points of view. This analysis considered the environmental, historical and socio-political contexts of the innovation, but focused upon factors operating at the school level, and on data derived from a survey of project documents and obtained during a period of six months ethnographic field research in one of the project's five pilot schools.[27]

In this way a detailed portrayal and critical analysis of school based curriculum development in practice (at the micro level) was incorporated within a multi-dimensional evaluation of the SSCEP change strategy. The investigator penetrated beyond the rhetoric of SSCEP and school centred innovation by grounding the analysis in reality, and a theme central to the concerns of comparativists - the international transfer of educational innovations - was critically explored.[28]

While findings of this research are more appropriately discussed elsewhere,[29] in the context of this paper it is perhaps appropriate to underline two points. Firstly, by linking the analysis of the SSCEP model to a (positive) critique of the school centred innovation movement, the theoretical potential of the empirically grounded case study was enhanced. Secondly, the coordination of the research with the wider evaluation of SSCEP currently being undertaken by the Educational Research Unit of the University of Papua New Guinea,[30] enabled a study with direct practical relevance to be devised.

AN APPROACH TO BRIDGING THE THEORY-PRACTICE GAP?

It is the main contention of this paper that case study research frameworks hold considerable potential for the improvement of the contribution of comparative and international studies to the theory and practice of education. Case study, we maintain, can help bridge the theory-practice gap which is apparent in much of the work carried out within our field. By providing a means for the grounding of research in reality it may also assist in reducing the ubiquitous hiatus between educational policy and practice. As Stenhouse points out, by improving our understanding of 'day-to-day educational reality'[31] we can 'tutor our judgement'[32] for the betterment of educational decision-making, and for the benefit of educational practice.

Investment in such descriptive, observational research at the micro-level could also rekindle a positive interest in the history of the field, by forging links between contemporary studies and the work of the early pioneers of comparative and international education. It is salutary to note, for instance, that as early as 1808 the distinguished French professor César Auguste Basset recognised the 'usefulness of making observations in foreign countries about education and instruction', but warned that researchers' should 'judge men and things in accordance with real and established facts and not in terms of written systems or speculative plans'.[33]

On the other hand, criticism of the subjective and impressionistic nature of the reports of nineteenth century 'travelling educators' draws attention to the importance of rigour and discipline for modern case study. Indeed, while it is argued here that the potential of case study research has yet to be fully realised within comparative and international education, it is also held that such developments should proceed along with further exploration of the weaknesses and limitations of the approach. In short, poorly conducted case study will have little positive impact upon the theory or practice of education. Case study is not the 'shallow end' of research; on the contrary it is a multidisciplinary, eclectic and flexible approach that can validly combine qualitative and quantitative data. But, as Walker points out, case study is a mode of inquiry that makes heavy demands upon its practitioners.[34]

There is, however, a rapidly growing body of methodological literature to structure research, and comparativists as such could undoubtedly add to this given the multi-disciplinary nature of their field and their heightened awareness of the importance of context in educational research. A valuable series of case study readers has, for example, been recently produced by Deakin University[35] and writers such as Hamilton, MacDonald and Stake explore the issues of case study validity, generalizations and ethics in a University of East Anglia volume edited by Simons.[36] The fusion of such literature with that utilized by more 'traditional' ethnographers already working within our field[37] could also stimulate useful, timely and creative research.

Another aspect of the field which meta-level case study addresses is international education. While international education has a number of interpretations, two of these, the focus on the international transfer of educational ideas and the use of education for internationalising the perspectives of teachers and pupils, are incorporated in research which focusses on one set of ideas and practices as the case to be studied in detail. This sort of case study has some potential for integrating the international education literature and the practice of international education into comparative research, and at the same time de-focusses on the national difference, macro and meso levels approach while recognising the relevance of these levels in bridging the gap between ideas and their implementation in the classroom.

Thus, as we have attempted to demonstrate, the potential of case study need not be limited to the micro level as critics such as Reynolds imply.[38] Rather, we argue that the potential of micro level case study can be enhanced by linking detailed empirically grounded research with appropriate theoretical perspectives,[39] and by locating micro studies within the broader framework of socio-political and epistemological analyses. Moreover, while, as Newman suggests,[40] observational research offers the prospect of more realistic data for comparativists; this is surely a valuable prerequisite for the art of comparison itself. To cite Parkyn, 'Sophisticated methods of processing data are to no avail if the data are poor'.[41]

CONCLUSION

Despite its weaknesses and limitations, case study research as presented here does suggest a way to interrelate the theory and 'reality' of education. It also suggests that de-focussing on the nation, both 'out' to the international arena and the ideas and practices there, as well as 'in' to the actual day-to-day activities of educational practitioners and their clients, can lead to a depiction of education and educational change processes which enables greater cross fertilization to take place between theory and practice. We have indicated that other attempts to do this are being made, within as well as outside the field of comparative and international education.

A final cue can perhaps best be taken from the work of Paulo Friere.[42] Friere's personal commitments and experience led him to identify literacy as a significant tool for the liberation of oppressed social groups. From practical experience in Brazilian adult literacy circles, he both developed a 'method' of teaching, and, reflecting upon his ideas, an integrated concept of the role of education in development. This has since been taken up internationally in the spheres of literacy, numeracy and non-formal education. Central to Friere's approach is the concept of praxis - a concept which acknowledges the interdependence of theory and practice in creative social action.

Friere's work, and that of a growing number of other critics of orthodox formal education, has implications for educational research, and, given the issues addressed in this paper, it also lends support to the plea for case study in comparative and international education presented here. In brief, through case study we maintain that comparativists can add to the contemporary challenge to positivistic and hermeneutic research traditions, and advance the development of what is now known as the critical research paradigm. Work of this nature acknowledges the importance of the 'dialectic' between theory and practice and, to date, is most clearly expressed in the writing of Jürgen Habermas[43] and the work of the 'new' sociologists.[44]

Case study is not, however, necessarily synonomous with a new paradigm, for it can consist of what Radnitzky has called 'tacking' between paradigms in order to maximise the useful elements of each while recognising its limitations.[45] Not all comparative work can be identified with one major paradigm, from Dewey's pragmatism onwards or the writings of Holmes or King. The use of case study incorporates features of each major paradigm as well as identifying with the dialectical approach of the critical one. Recent research by Masemann, moreover, points to the potential of such developments for comparativists.[46]

If, as the analysis presented here suggests, comparative and international education is to resolve some of its present tensions by bridging the theory-practice gap, then case study is a valuable and useful tool. It opens the way for researchers to move from a vertual preoccupation with the national arena, towards both meta and micro level investigations, and it provides the means for more holistic multi-dimensional analyses. Case study also challenges the epistomological dominance of the positivist within the social sciences, and this in itself, we suggest, has the potential to further the contribution of comparative and international studies to both the theory and practice of education.

In the hope of stimulating the adventurous to pursue such work, perhaps we should end by quoting Holmes who recently noted that: 'As comparative educationalists we are in the throes of attempts to introduce paradigmatic shifts '.... And we, like Holmes 'find it quite exciting'.[47]

FOOTNOTES

1. Smith, L.M. 'An evolving logic of participant observation, educational ethnography, and other case studies'. In Shulman, L.S. ed., Review of Research in Education. Chicago, Peacock, 1978, pp.316-377.

2. Adelman, C., Jenkins, D. and Kemmis, S. 'Re-thinking case study: notes from the second Cambridge Conference'. Cambridge Journal of Education, 6(3): 139-150, 1976.

3. Fraser, S. and Brickman, W.W., eds. A History of International and Comparative Education. Nineteenth Century Documents. Glenview, Illinois, Scott, Foresman and Company, 1968.

4. Kay, W.K. and Watson, J.K.P. 'Comparative education: the need for dangerous ambition'. Educational Research, 24(2): 129-139, 1982.

5. See, for example, Epstein, E.H. 'Currents left and right: ideology in comparative education'. Comparative Education Review, 27(1): 3-29, 1983.

6. Fullan, M. and Pomfret, A. 'Research on curriculum and instruction implementation'. Review of Educational research, 7(1): 335-397, 1977.

7. Debeauvais, M. Education and Development in the New International Economic Order, IIEP Occasional Paper, no.55, Paris, Unesco/IIEP, 1981, p.9.

8. Ibid., p.10.

9. Simkin, K. 'Comparative and sociological perspectives on Third World development and education'. International Review of Education, 27(4): 428-447, 1981.

10. Cowen, R. 'Sociological analysis and comparative education'. (editorial article). International Review of Education, 27(4): 385-395.

11. Parkyn, G.W. 'Comparative education research and development education'. Comparative Education, 13(2): 87-93, 1977.

12. Debeauvais, op.cit.

13. Holmes, B. 'Sociology and comparative education: a comparative educationalist's perspective'. International Reivew of Education, 27(4): 397-410, 1981.

14. Lawson, R.F. 'Free-form comparative education'. Comparative Education Review, 19(2): 345-353, 1975.

15. Heyman, R. 'Analyzing the curriculum. International Review of Education, 27(4): 449-470, 1981.

16. Husén, T. Cited in Woock, R.R. 'Sociological analysis and comparative education'. International Review of Education, 27(4): 418, 1981.

17. Halls, W.D. 'Comparative studies in education, 1964-1977: a personal view'. Comparative Education, 13(2): 81-86, 1977.

18. See also, Jones, P. 'Pluralism and education: some reflections'. In Bricknell, N. and Hunter, R., eds. Education: Planning and Process in Pluralist Societies. A selection of papers presented at the Seventh Annual Conference of the Australian Comparative and International Education Society, Mount Gravatt CAE, Brisbane, November 1979, pp.1-10.

19. See, for example, Epstein, op.cit.

20. Halls, op.cit., p.84.

21. Burns, R.J. The Formation and Legitimation of Development Education with Particular Reference to Australia and Sweden. Ph.D. Thesis, La Trobe University, 1979.

22. See also, Burns, R.J. Development education in other Western nations. Paper presented to the 'Development Education: The State of the Art' Conference, University of Calgary, July 1983.

23. Crossley, M. Strategies for Curriculum Change with Special Reference to the Secondary Schools Community Extension Project in Papua New Guinea. Ph.D. Thesis, La Trobe University (final draft).

24. See, for example, CERI, Creativity of the School. Conclusion of a Programme of Enquiry, Paris, CERI/OECD 1978; CERI, School-Based Curriculum Development. Paris, CERI/OECD, 1979; and Eggleston, J. ed. School-Based Curriculum Development in Britain. A Collection of Case Studies, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980.

25. Hargreaves, A. 'The rhetoric of school centred innovation'. Journal of Curriculum Studies, 14(3): 253, 1982.

26. See, for example, Bennis, W.G., Benne, K.D. and Chin, R. eds. The Planning of Change: Readings in the Applied Behavioural Sciences. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961; Havelock, R.G. 'The ultilisation of educational research and development'. British Journal of Educational Technology 2(2): 84-97, 1971; and Paulston, R.G. Conflicting Theories of Social and Educational Change: A Typological Review. University of Pittsburgh Centre for International Studies, 1976.

27. For further details of SSCEP as an innovation, and for preliminary findings from the school fieldwork see Crossley, M. 'Strategies of curriculum change and SSCEP in Papua New Guinea. In Welch, A.R., ed. The Politics of Educational Change. Selected proceedings of the Ninth Annual Conference of the Australian Comparative and International Education Society, University of New England, Armidale, New South Wales, 1981, pp.201-210.

28. The centrality of the transfer issue in comparative studies is illustrated by the devotion of a recent special edition of Compare to the topic. See Compare 13(1), 1983.

29. See Crossley, 1983, op.cit.

30. For an overview of early research on SSCEP see Cummings, R. A Review of Research on SSCEP: 1978-1981. ERU Report no.41, University of Papua New Guinea, 1982.

31. Stenhouse, L. 'Case study in comparative education. Particularity and generalisation'. Comparative Education, 15(1): 9, 1979.

32. Ibid., p.6.

33. Cited in Fraser and Brickman, op.cit., p.18.

34. Walker, R. 'Three good reasons for not doing case studies in curriculum research'. Journal of Curriculum Studies, 15(2): 155-165, 1983.

35. See Deakin University, Case Study Methods (six volumes), Deakin University Press, 1982, (second edition, 1983).

36. Simons, H., ed. Towards a Science of the Singular. University of East Anglia, Centre for Applied Research in Education, 1980. A brief review of this book by Crossley is given in ACIES Newsletter 2: 1983.

37. See, for example, Heyman, R. 'Comparative education from an ethnomethodological perspective'. Comparative Education, 15(3): 241-249, 1979.

38. Reynolds, D. 'The naturalistic method of educational and social research: a Marxist critique'. Interchange, 11(4): 77-89, 1980/81.

39. For sociological work of this nature see Willis, P. Learning to Labour. Farnborough, Saxon House, 1977.

40. Newman, R.S. "But based on what? Village primary education and urban educationalists in India'. In Liesch, J.R., ed. Comparative Perspectives on Futures in Education. Papers presented at the Tenth Annual Conference of the Australian Comparative and International Education Society, University of Sydney, November, 1982, pp.109-118.

41. Parkyn, op.cit., p.92.

42. Friere, P. Pedagogy of the Oppressed. Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1970.

43. Habermas, J. Knowledge and Human Interests. Boston, Beacon Press, 1971, [translated J.J. Shapiro].

44. See, for example, Young, M.F.D., ed. Knowledge and Control, London, Collier-Macmillan, 1971.

45. Radnitzky, G. Contemporary Schools of Metascience. 2nd edn., Göteborg, Akademiförlaget, 1972.

46. Masemann, V.L. 'Critical ethnography in the study of comparative education'. Comparative Education Review, 26(1): 1-15, 1982.

47. Holmes, B. 'Response to Epstein'. Comparative Education Review, 27(1): 45, 1983.

EDUCATION AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY : RECENT DEVELOPMENT OF POLICY IN AUSTRALIA

ROSITA M. HOLENBERGH

The response of Australian institutions to the presence of post-war non-Anglo-Celtic immigrants has been described by several scholars (see particularly Martin, 1978). The changes which have become evident in educational philosophy, policy and practice have reflected changes in the prevailing perceptions of the status and power of immigrants within Australian society, so far reflected to a lesser degree within other institutions. They have been accompanied by changing styles of educational research in collecting information to be used as the basis of further policy formation.

The adaptation within education has been part of a more widespread differentiation within the structure and culture of the society, affecting both ethnic and other sub-cultural groups. It has also been associated with changes in philosophical and other forms of intellectual analysis and with changes in definitions of equality of opportunity, although within relevant disciplines, such as sociology, the links between the mainstreams and differentiated areas of study concerning ethnicity and migration are often not made.

In this paper the changes in social processes and corresponding changes in education are first discussed in general terms to illustrate the evolution of multicultural education from migrant education. Some recent reports which have influenced policy are then analysed. Research needs are identified in the light of recent research in the U.S.A.

1. CHANGES IN DEGREE OF DIFFERENTIATION IN AUSTRALIAN SOCIETY

In analysing the construction of public, social knowledge concerning immigrants in Australia, Martin (1978) described three phases of prevailing definition within the host society which reflected increasing differentiation on the ethnic cultural dimension.

(i) First, a phase which existed up to the mid-1960s in which immigrants were defined as assimilable and questions concerning the modification of Australian institutions did not arise (p.21); during that phase the principle definers were Commonwealth Government authorities such as the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs (pp. 27-28), but immigration authorities in some countries of origin of immigrants also advocated assimilation, as described for Dutch immigrants by Overberg (1981).

(ii) Second, towards the end of the 1960s a phase followed in which immigrants were mainly defined as a social problem (p. 36), as disadvantaged victims of economic exploitation and official and community neglect (pp. 36-38), for whom compensatory treatment was needed for adaptation to be accomplished. The definers in this phase were mainly Anglo-Celtic Australian professional persons located within established organisations, often in marginal positions, such as social workers attached to schools (p. 36). Most objective data on poverty did not confirm this grim view (Commission of Inquiry into Poverty, 1975), although it was put forward as a reason for criticism of the immigration program by anti-inflationists, environmentalists, people involved in immigrant welfare and those perturbed by high concentrations of immigrants in inner-city areas (Price, 1971:A12). Most immigrants remained economically viable through hard work (see Encel/Martin,1981:90), but there were sometimes social and psychological costs for some groups (see Parker, 1973).

(iii) Third, from about 1972 onwards, a phase followed in which immigrants were defined as people with the capacity for power and participation (p. 51) and with ethnic rights (p. 57). There was increasing differentiation apparent amongst definers, but in this phase contributions have been made by ethnic professionals, spokespersons from individual ethnic groups and from pan-ethnic organisations such as Ethnic Communities' Councils. Such councils have become increasingly significant as pressure groups, which cut across party political lines and act in the (perceived) interests of ethnic groups.

As the major emphases in general, public policy moved from reflecting views of Australian society as culturally homogeneous or integrated to reflecting a view as heterogeneous and differentiated, there was increasing differentiation in educational provision for culturally diverse ethnic groups. (At the same time there was also diversification within the mainstream of education with respect to pedagogical styles, alternative forms of schooling and community participation in decision-making (see Wescombe, 1980).)

The same tendency to ethnic differentiation was by now also apparent in other institutions, such as those associated with health, welfare and trade unions, although it was more explicit and more comprehensive within education (see Martin, 1978).

The general increase in complexity of social and economic structures in Australia and in other parts of the Western world may, of course, be related to the development of science and technology and to post-war economic growth, which resulted in full employment, higher standards of living and increasing differentiation in the range of occupations available.

2. CHANGES IN MODES OF ANALYSIS

Major intellectual emphases have also been related to those patterns of social change mentioned above. For example, underlying theoretical perspectives in the sociology of education informing the study of immigrants in education changed concomitantly during the post-war period and also fall into three phases.

(i) First, perspectives from structural-functionalist theory emphasized the existence and worth of socio-economic stratification of societies, to be achieved in part in the educational system, by the appropriate selection of pupils who had experienced various types of primary socialization in differing sub-cultural groups. It was thought that secondary socialization should maintain social cohesion and cultural transmission of the prevailing established order. For immigrants in Australia during this period, life-styles and life-chances were influenced by public policies of assimilation which were intended to encourage adaptation by means of competition and mobility within the established structures. However, ethnic differentiation did occur in many groups, mainly at the primary level of family and kin (for example, see Huber, 1977; Bottomley, 1979). This first strand of intellectual activity still continues in some respects. For example, Carroll (1978) has developed a sociology of recent Western culture in terms of the relative incidence of psychological ideal types based upon metaphysical world-views. He has postulated a change (viewed as a decline) through three phases of cultural emphasis. Carroll has argued that a significant initial phase of Puritan-based culture existed, founded on beliefs of election for salvation of chosen people, whose virtue was demonstrated in good works; there was strong individual authority, with individual solutions to social problems and a patriarchal society. The next (undesirable) phase has been viewed by Carroll as paranoid, representing an inversion of Calvinism, by which the underprivileged were perceived as virtuous and authority was delegated to public bodies. A still later phase has been termed remissive and is seen by Carroll to be marked by participation for all and indifference to excellence.

(ii) Second, a set of intellectual perspectives in the sociology of education was centred on a concern with social reform, to achieve equality of opportunity by adjustments in curriculum content and pupil selection, allowing "corrective", transitional retention of some characteristics of primary socialization. For immigrants in Australia, cultural distinctiveness of life-styles within strong institutions such as the family and church, and within voluntary ethnic associations, such as clubs and ethnic "schools", was tolerated. However, policies of integration still emphasized secondary socialization into the established prevailing socio-economic structure, which affects life-chances. If elements of ethnic cultures were incorporated within education, they were also to be available for the benefit of Anglo-Celtic Australians who might become more tolerant or even derive more positive gains. Proponents of this strand of intellectual activity have been those whose philosophy of democratic socialism suggested a guiding principle of minimizing disadvantage, which has the effect of directing attention to problems (see Popper, 1945). The works of Passow (1970) and Riessman (1962) have been characteristic of this approach.

(iii) Third, sociological perspectives incorporating elements of conflict theory, phenomenology and symbolic interaction have become favoured. It has been suggested that social change could be achieved by recognising the control of knowledge and the forms of cultural reproduction through consciousness of cultural meanings. The reorganisation of education would then permit secondary socialization consistent with the needs of a diversity of cultural groups. Competition could then be more equitable or absent altogether if wealth corresponding to a post-industrial phase of economic development were attained (see Kahn, Brown and Martel, 1976), or if changes in the economic structure were achieved by reform or revolution.

For immigrants in Australia, distinctiveness of life-styles could be supported structurally by government links with ethnic institutions and within general societal institutions; the determination of life chances could be made more equitable by policies favouring participation, power and ethnic rights.

An example of the third approach in the sociology of education is found in the work of Bernstein, who argued that property has become partly psychologized in the form of valued skills made available in educational institutions (Bernstein, 1975:515). The "new middle class" is able to take advantage of an "invisible" pedagogy which encourages variety and spontaneity, so that parents can assess the educational possibilities for their children in order to profit from diversification in the occupational structure of symbolic control (Bernstein, 1974:19). Kahn has also referred to the "New Class" of educated persons, which exerts influence as a "progressive" force on behalf of its own class interest (see Kahn and Pepper, 1980:53).

Another example of this approach is found in the humanistic social action theory applied by Smolicz (1979) to education in a pluralist society. Smolicz suggested the need for ethnic languages and cultures to be included as components of curriculum available in all Australian schools, ensuring the reproduction of Australian ethnic cultures so that the life-styles and life-chances of immigrants might be enhanced and the life-styles of Anglo-Celtic Australians might be enriched.

Such breaking of Anglo-Celtic cultural domination in education is clearly also a matter for concern, but regarded unfavourably by those Marxist analysts of education who consider that successful incorporation of ethnic emphases into consultative processes and into the curriculum may serve to distract attention from the underlying structural inequality of classes (see Sharp, 1980:153).

Yet another example of this approach is the development of theory by Martin (see, for example, Martin and Meade, 1979) who described stultifying and liberating definitions of biculturalism. It was suggested that the refusal of some groups of immigrant parents and children to accept the negative and limiting roles offered by schools may have contributed to the relative success in credentialling of those immigrant pupils in Sydney secondary schools who were found to be most successful at upper secondary level (when social class was taken into account).

It seems that parents of some working-class ethnic backgrounds were able to function in a way similar to that described for a "new middle class", by influencing the educational progress of their offspring in the conventional (Anglo-Celtic Australian) curriculum and rendering ineffective the limiting intentions of teachers and other school personnel. Marjoribanks (1980) has recently applied the concept of "ethclass" to immigrants in Australia to describe groups formed by the intersection of dimensions of ethnicity and class. It is possible that, with the inclusion in curriculum of components based on ethnic languages and cultures, differentiation into "ethclasses" could assume even greater significance in future. The emergence of independent fee-paying schools, of the "ethnic" or "international" types, is noted later (p. 22).

Immigrants are more likely to become bilingual and bicultural than are Anglo-Celtic Australians. Educational and occupational advantages may flow from the functional development of bilingualism and biculturalism,perhaps based on English and a particular language and culture maintained by a large group in a particular set of occupations; (according to some teachers and trainers in further education this seems to be the case already in a few parts of the occupational structure). Those ethnic parents of non-English-speaking background who can function as a "new middle class" will be able, to the greatest extent of all ethclasses, to influence and to take advantage of a curriculum allowing such development. Economic opportunities for their children within Australia and in other sites of the ethnic cultures concerned are then likely to be maximised if Australia's participation in the international labour market continues to increase.

On the other hand, if educational and occupational disadvantages should flow from poorly developed bilingualism and biculturalism, children of ethnic working class parents of non-English-speaking background, whose parents are least able of all ethclass groups to influence curriculum and instruction, will least be able to take advantage of existing opportunities. The (foreshadowed) introduction in Australia of advanced technology in communications and information services is likely to increase this separation (see Submissions to the Inquiry into Cable and Subscription Television Services and Related Matters of the Australian Broadcasting Tribunal, 1981).

Marjoribanks' (1980) research showed that parents of some ethclass groups (of Greek and Italian background in his study) supported the development of courses on ethnic languages and cultures in the curriculum. Parents of other ethclass groups (of Yugoslav, Anglo-Celtic Australian and English background in his study) did not support such courses.

3. CHANGES IN DEFINITIONS OF EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY

Definitions of equality of opportunity incorporated in educational policies have varied correspondingly in the three phases described above. The definitions in Western systems of education have been outlined clearly by Rist (1979: 363-366) and applied to society in Western Germany and to the situation of "guest workers", by considering arrangements for access to, content in and style of schooling.

(i) The definition of equality of the first phase is associated with a general curriculum and competition amongst a small number of persons for entry to a few rewarding occupations.

(ii) The definition of equality of the second phase is associated with the assignment of a greater number of students within a set of specialised curricula and with competition for a diversified range of occupations differing in rewards.

(iii) The definition of equality of the third phase is associated with individual selection within a diversified range of options in curriculum, with parity of differing educational outcomes and without the need for competition for occupations, since all occupations are sufficiently rewarding and satisfactory life-styles are available to all.

Rist found the third definition incongruent with the need for specialization in the workforce and with the competitive nature of Western Germany society. It could be argued that in practice at present in Australia a "new middle class" would be relatively advantaged and the working class disadvantaged by such attempts at flexibility within the middle and upper levels of education (see Cohen, 1981). It may be appropriate that some immigrant parents and offspring in Australia express approval for more "structured" conservative forms of curricular organisation and teaching practices

(Marjoribanks, 1980; Young, Petty and Faulkner, 1980: 162, 262). ("Guest workers" in Western Germany were spectacularly unequal with all policies.)

4. CHANGES IN EDUCATION

The same sequence of three phases in policy development to take account of ethnic cultural diversity is evident.

(i) In the first phase, the Federal Government made particular provision for the education of immigrant adults, but children were expected to learn English and to achieve academically in education as a result of immersion (within the State systems of education). Research during this period attempted to determine the degree of assimilation and achievement of "new Australians". as described in the report of the Immigration Advisory Council (1960).

(ii) In the second phase, the Federally-supported Child Migrant Education Program was developed (from 1970). It was based upon the teaching of English as a Second Language (ESL) to overcome difficulties in communication and in instruction, which were perceived to stem from inadequacies of immigrant children but not, in any major way, from defects of educational systems. The most common method of organisation for ESL was the "withdrawal" class derived from existing arrangements for special education.

The research of the (Federal) Australian Schools Commission (established in 1973) led to renewed emphasis on remedial programs in "Migrant and Multi-cultural Education" for immigrant children. Programs were intended to strengthen ESL, but for the first time also to promote ethnic cultural identity and higher self-esteem in immigrant pupils by the teaching of community languages, see Schools Commission, 1975: 90-92.) Studies of cultural diversity for all pupils were also recommended (p. 125), with the aim of effecting some change in attitudes towards immigrant children to increase tolerance in the school context. However, there was little concern with the necessary structural support in schools for the implementation of such measures, such as the creation of positions and the appointment of qualified teachers, other than for the provision of ESL in an ad hoc manner. Bodies associated with the Federal Department of Education, such as the Curriculum Development Centre and the

Educational Research and Development Committee, did develop some minor emphases on cultural diversity.

Research characteristic of the second phase was methodologically more rigorous than in the first phase, but conceptually it focussed upon pupil "problems", demonstrated by pupil profiles, and not upon the quality of schooling provided. Typical studies were a study of pupil achievement at primary-school level, using a battery of devices administered in the English language (de Lemos, 1975) and a study of literacy and numeracy of immigrants (as part of a larger study) in which socio-economic status was not taken into account (Bourke and Keeves, 1977).

(iii) In the third phase, the needs of immigrant children were presented in a less problem-oriented way, shown first in the Report of the Committee on the Teaching of Migrant Languages in Schools (1976). Recommendations were now made for the provision of bilingual education and of community language studies, in particular for immigrant children, and for intercultural education for all. However, it was also recommended that all children should be given the opportunity to study languages other than their own from the earliest primary years, which extended the concept of bilingualism and biculturalism more widely, by applying it to pupils who were not of recent immigrant background, including Anglo-Celtic Australian pupils. Ethnic rights to parity of esteem and of educational provision within systemic schools were thus recognised, implying major organisational changes.

Recommendations were also made for the support of ethnic schools (voluntary associations organised by ethnic communities), thereby defining them as appropriate educational structures, to be linked with the public educational system for the teaching of community languages and cultures.

Other research characteristic of this phase has also emphasised the power and capacity for participation of immigrants. As previously indicated, it has included studies described by Smolicz (1979) on the maintenance of ethnicity, by Marjoribanks (1980) who examined the demand for the teaching of community languages and cultures, and the research of Martin and Meade (1979), who referred to the stultifying processes of definition to which immigrant students in high schools were subjected and which were rejected by some students who achieved success.

When little action followed in supporting and setting up programs in community languages and cultures, requests to the Federal Government were made for the funding of programs, along the lines recommended by the Committee on the Teaching of Migrant Languages in Schools, by various voluntary associations concerned with education. Some of these arose for that purpose, such as the New South Wales State Multicultural Education Committee, which was formed from persons from ethnic community groups, professional organisations of teachers and educational institutions (see Young, 1977). Partly as a result of such action and from other direct approaches to parliamentarians, a review was subsequently initiated by the Prime Minister and Cabinet (rather than through the relevant Commonwealth Ministries) to determine whether recent immigrants had access equal to that of other Australians to existing welfare services and to other programs and services, including those concerned with health, housing, education and employment (Review of Post-Arrival Services and Programs to Migrants, 1978, The Galbally Report).

It was assumed in the enquiry that the existing, relatively undifferentiated, delivery of services was structurally appropriate and that consultation and "self-help" within ethnic communities were both possible and desirable to identify and plan for any special needs. Successful initiatives would subsequently attract government resources.

The recommendations then made for education again strongly supported the teaching of English to attain equality of access to services and equality of opportunity with respect to life chances. It was found that in 1975 approximately 90,000 children were receiving ESL instruction which represented approximately 23% of the 400,000 students of 5-14 years from backgrounds where English was not spoken. Recommendations were made to increase the numbers of ESL teachers, to improve teacher education and to develop resource materials, particularly for use within 'normal' classes. Substantial resources were recommended - some $10m for a three year period. Better collection of data was strongly advocated.

The maintenance of cultural heritage and of cultural identity and the provision of multicultural education were again supported to attain equality of life-styles, and $5m allocated. Recommendations were also made for the support of ethnic schools, but major implications in funding and organisation were not outlined.

The recommendations for multicultural education were given added clarification and specificity by the report of a recommended further committee (Committee on Multicultural Education, 1979) which identified six elements as the scope of education for a multicultural society : general programs of studies to promote intercultural understanding, programs on studies of particular ethnic groups resident in Australia, international and intercultural studies, community language programs and bilingual education programs.

It was recommended that (of the $5m allocated for 1979-1981) 86% of funds should be distributed through Multicultural Education Programs (MEP) for all systemic and independent schools, with the remainder going to the Schools Commission, Projects of National Significance, the Curriculum Development Centre and the Education Research and Development Committee.

Within MEP, 9% of the funds were for ethnic schools, but they could be only minimally served by cooperative ventures such as the appointment of ethnic schools liaison officers and the insertion of community language classes into systemic and independent schools. A scheme of small grants (of up to $1,000, later $2,000) was to receive 20% of funds, while the remainder would go to general projects.

The MEP was inplemented through State Multicultural Education Coordinating Committees, with memberships drawn from ethnic community organisations, government and non-government systems of education, organisations of teachers and of parents,(and co-incidentally from academic institutions), but they were chaired by persons from State Departments of Education. They considered proposals from education authorities, schools and school communities (including individuals) and then advised State Ministers on allocation of funds.

By 1981, Aboriginal Consultative Groups in the States and Territories were consulting with State MECCs and support for projects relating to Aboriginal languages and cultures was permitted (such support having been primarily given in a separate program).

General projects supported included the development of an Italian language and culture curriculum for primary students in South Australia; of a Dutch language curriculum for upper primary and secondary level students in Tasmania; of a kit "Education for a Multicultural Society" in Victoria; and of a film library in the Australian Capital Territory.

Many general projects were school-based, particularly in New South Wales, where the MECC was apparently more in favour of school-based curriculum development than of the centralised development of curriculum projects and resources. In that State also, the salaries of special community language teachers and ethnic aides were supported within new school programs to enhance their viability. If necessary, funding was maintained in successive years in continuing programs. Also, in New South Wales, six positions of community language consultant and two of program evaluator were created to offer assistance at the primary level.

Overall the policy defined in the two reports last described upheld a second-phase form of multiculturalism which could be achieved by some localised adjustments to prevailing practices at the school level within Australian educational systems. There was emphasis upon societal goals concerned with cohesion, with remediation by ESL instruction and with forms of ethnic differentiation which would be of benefit to all pupils - a mildly culturally pluralist but not a structurally pluralist form of multiculturalism.

Within some ethnic groups, the policy has been perceived as placing an undue emphasis on English as remediation and with the failure to accord the full recognition, status and structural support to community languages and cultures (for example, see Gardini, 1981) which are consistent with the third phase of definition of status.

On the other hand, the policy has also been criticised as being insufficiently remedial in that English is promoted as the only major survival skill needed to counteract a powerlessness which limits choice for ethnic group members (see Lumb, 1980: 61-62), suggesting a second-phase definition of status.

For well-established groups it seems likely that socialization of the young into two languages and cultures in bilingual programs of good quality results in cognitive and affective gains. Pupils' motivation may be of significance in this process, whether it be instrumental and concerned with life chances, or integrative and concerned with group membership and life-styles (see Lambert, 1977).

However, the form of curricular organisation in which the content of community languages and cultures appears may also be of particular relevance. It has been argued previously that the "new middle class" is advantaged by "invisible" pedagogy at early primary levels of schooling ("informal" methods, individualized activities, parental participation, parental help), but that near secondary level or near public examinations a move to "visible" ("formal") pedagogy becomes desired (see Cohen, 1981). "Invisible" pedagogy in community languages and cultures at early levels may particularly benefit "new middle class" children, both of non-English-speaking and of Anglo-Celtic Australian backgrounds. (It has been noted by some observers that in some primary level programs Anglo-Celtic Australian children have advanced more quickly in learning community languages than have the children with home backgrounds in the cultures concerned (Craven, 1977). This initial outcome could be due to the process noted above or to others such as the influence of dialectical varieties of home language or to "elitist" attitudes of community language teachers towards dialect speakers.)

At middle and upper levels of schooling "new middle class" parents of non-English-speaking bakcground are likely to seek relatively "formal " forms of instruction. They are unlikely to approve of "multicultural culture" or common culture (see Smolicz, 1981). They may prefer to seek instruction for their offspring within part-time after-hours ethnic schools (or in full-time independent ethnic schools), where issues concerning content, control and access can be more readily resolved to their satisfaction. If attendance at community language classes is in systemic schools, such parents are likely to demand programs of some depth and rigour which would require considerable structural change and expenditure within educational systems, although strengthening ethnic schools might postpone that need.

It is clear that such issues have been comprehended within reports made subsequent to the Review of Post-Arrival Services and Programs, since strong support for both community language education and ethnic schools has been evident.

THE FIRST REPORT OF THE AUSTRALIAN INSTITUTE OF MULTICULTURAL AFFAIRS, REVIEW OF MULTICULTURAL AND MIGRANT EDUCATION (SEPTEMBER, 1980)

Until the change of party in power at Federal level early in 1983 it seemed likely that the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs (A.I.M.A.) would assume a significant role in defining policy.

There seems to be little knowledge amongst educators concerning A.I.M.A., which was created as a result of Commonwealth Government legislation in November 1979 following the recommendation of the Review of Post-Arrival Programs and Services to Migrants, (1978). An agency legitimated as representing the interests of ethnic groups could now be drawn within the ambit of public decision-making at the national level. It could assume research and development functions formerly carried out by the national Schools Commission, the Educational Research and Development Committee (ERDC) (abolished), and the Curriculum Development Centre (CDC) (wound down).

An administrative council was set up, based in Victoria where A.I.M.A. is placed, comprising the Chairman, Mr Frank Galbally (formerly Chairman of the group which conducted the Review of Post-Arrival Programs and Services to Migrants), the Director of the Institute, Mr Petro Georgiou (formerly on the staff of the Prime Minister), Mr John Menadue (the Permanent Head of the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs), Professor J. Zubrzycki (the Chairman of the Australian Ethnic Affairs Council), and five other members from various States and Territories. Membership of the Institute was to be built up to 100 members, but proportional representation from States and Territories was clearly not attempted.

The scope of A.I.M.A.'s first report is indicated by the focus of the eight sections - Australian multiculturalism; education in a multicultural society; community views on multicultural education; schools (government, Catholic, independent non-Catholic); ethnic schools; tertiary institutions; adult migrant education and government support structures for multicultural education. An introductory section contains a preface and twenty recommendations (arising from the sections listed above) which had an immediate effect on policy and funding for language studies in ethnic schools and in tertiary education.

Aims and Methodology

The aims of the review were to survey nationally current activities in multicultural and migrant education; to assess whether programs could be improved and, if so, how this might be done, and to identify areas requiring further research (p. v). These were appropriate but ambitious aims and it seems that there was insufficient time allowed to the Institute for the rigorous collection of data which would have enabled such aims to be completely satisfied. The Annual Federal Budget taking the Institute's recommendations into account was released soon after publication of the report. Under the circumstances, much valuable information has been revealed, mainly by gathering together previously disparate data.

During two months of 1980, approximately 100 organisations were consulted and approximately 500 people participated in discussions to gauge community views and attitudes (p. 11), although it is not possible to ascertain who those people were and therefore whether an adequate range of opinion was taken into account.

The philosophical position adopted in the report's introduction supported an essentially integrative view of multiculturalism, accepting cultural pluralism but with emphasis upon societal goals concerned with cohesion and with forms of ethnic differentiation which could be of benefit to all. This stance was apparently tempered during the research process to allow strong support for some adoption of structural pluralism, such as for ethnic schools (p. 6), for ethnic broadcasting (p. 85), and for the employment of bilingual native speakers of community language to teach those languages in the recognised educational systems (p. 14). However, the form of bilingual education supported is transitional only (pp. 12-13), compared with a full bilingual acquisition and maintenance model (see Clyne, 1977).

There was strong input from academics since the list of 30 contributors who guided the research contains 21 in tertiary education institutions, headed by Dr J.J. Smolicz, Reader in Education at the University of Adelaide (pp. 143-145). The background literature consulted lists 91 references, of which some 70 originated in government departments, commissions, statutory authorities, or were written by individuals within such agencies, which may indicate some failure to initiate research of relevance by other agencies of educational research. The last chapter of the report provides an excellent analysis of government support structures at Federal and State levels.

The methods of making contact with educational systems were not noted, but could surely have been improved upon, since very little data on schooling from New South Wales and Queensland were collected.

The Definition of Multicultural Education

A.I.M.A. made analyses of programs in schools, ethnic schools and higher and further education, mostly by examining contextual variables, such as administrative and financial arrangements, and programs claimed to be operating.

The term "multicultural education" was used here to refer to three strands of study - "the teaching of English, the teaching of languages other than English used in the Australian community, and the study of ethnic and cultural diversity in Australia" (p. v). Such a definition offers conceptual simplicity but diminishes, by incorporation within those three categories, two other components of multicultural education which are often delineated in policy and practice - bilingual education and ethnic studies (see Holenbergh, 1978). These two components direct more concentrated attention towards ethnic languages and cultures and may generate more controversy with regard to content, control and access. For example, who shall teach in an ethnic studies program focussed upon a single sub-culture? A person native to the mother country? A person born in Australia to parents born in the mother country? A person with one or other of those attributes but, as well, with professional qualifications in education in Australia? A person with one of those attributes but with educational qualifications from the mother country? A person from any ethnic group with appropriate academic qualifications? How shall cultural differences amongst groups from the same country of origin be comprehended? Models of multicultural education based upon assimilation and pluralism which take such issues into account have been developed in the U.S.A. (see Cordasco, 1976).

The last two components, bilingual education and ethnic studies, are not as easily compatible with present day organisational arrangements for foreign languages and social studies as are the teaching of community languages and comparative studies of ethnic and cultural diversity. They are more likely to require and to maintain elements of structural pluralism of ethnic groups (for example, with respect to appropriate teachers and to target groups of pupils).

Programs in Schools

Subsequent analyses of government, Catholic and independent schools confirm the orientation suggested above : while bilingual education and ethnic studies are sometimes mentioned, they are clearly considered of peripheral significance.

Community language education in schools also recedes in importance compared with studies of ethnic and cultural diversity (for example, the curious categorisation of the Ten Schools Project in South Australia, p. 27) and of ESL.

Ethnic schools (organised by ethnic communities) naturally demonstrate a structurally pluralist form of multicultural education and often feature monocultural ethnic studies, which may have a religious base, as well as community languages (which are the major focus of part-time, voluntary schools); sometimes there is bilingual instruction.

The provision of programs in government, Catholic and independent schools is described for the three strands of multicultural education selected. It is clear that curriculum development has largely been at the level of individual schools, without system-wide responses, despite continuing commitment expressed at higher levels of decision-making in educational systems. Indeed, almost no precise figures on the incidence of programs other than those in ESL seem to have been available. The few programs which were noted for the other two components seem to be an underestimate of numbers, certainly for community language programs.

Only the State of Victoria was noted as earmarking money for multicultural and migrant education (p. 23). While that State certainly was the first to respond to the needs of schools, structural response had also occurred in other States, such as in New South Wales (with which this author is particularly familiar).

In New South Wales, from 1978, a Saturday School of Community Languages had been operating in six centres, offering courses to Higher School Certificate (HSC) level in more than 20 community languages to approximately 4,000 pupils drawn from government and non-government secondary schools. In the previous year the Boards of Secondary School Studies and Senior Studies had accepted many "new" languages for accreditation and they were given matriculation status by universities. (Considerable controversy has since ensued concerning the assessment of students in these languages, with allegations being made by ethnic community groups that the statistical techniques employed for deriving the HSC total scores have discriminated against students of non-English speaking background.) A similar Saturday School had been operating in Victoria for some years previously.

From 1977 English Language Reception Centres were set up in major geographical areas for the reception of immigrants - to offer intensive instruction to secondary-level pupils for up to six months. To some extent these centres were based upon experience in similar intensive language centres in the U.K.

Following the establishment of a Division, later a Directorate, of Special Programs within the New South Wales Department of Education in 1977, a large staff (of nearly fifty persons at times) was appointed in the area of multicultural education for development and planning, collection of curriculum resources, and consultancy to schools. Consultants in multicultural education were also placed in all educational regions, some in special regional multicultural education resource centres.

By 1980 many persons in these positions were of non-English-speaking background; some had attended an 18-month "conversion" course for teachers with overseas qualifications offered once (from 1977) at Sydney Teachers' College. Some were enrolled in the part-time and external postgraduate diploma programs increasingly being offered at tertiary institutions. Many were previously ESL teachers within the Department of Education. As there was no specific career structure, there was some movement back to teaching positions where conventional rules for promotion applied but turnover allowed some variation in the community languages in which consultancy was offered.

Persons with special expertise in multicultural education were also placed in the Social Development Unit of the Ministry of Education, acting as a source of independent advice to the Minister, and overseeing the funding allocated annually to ethnic schools since 1975. A survey of these schools was made in 1978.

The Ethnic Affairs Commission of New South Wales employed a project officer in Education, while several part-time commissioners were knowledgeable about educational matters.

The New South Wales Department of Education made surveys of the linguistic and cultural backgrounds of students as part of the National Survey in 1980, and of teachers, thus obtaining new data bases for planning.

A Multicultural Education Policy Statement, mandatory for all government schools, was released by the Minister of Education in November 1979, after lengthy drafting within the Division of Special Programs. Significant components of curriculum were identified as multicultural perspectives, education for intercultural understanding, ethnic studies, ESL and culture-through-language education. The last component was critized as an inadequate substitute for community language education and bilingual education by ethnic community agencies, such as the Ethnic Communities' Council of New South Wales which has an Education Sub-Committee and acts as a strong pressure group. The policy was then reviewed with advice from a new committee with a range of appointed representatives similar to that on the existing New South Wales Multicultural Coordinating Committee (MECC) which planned the disbursal of funds in the (Federal) Schools' Commission's Multicultural Education Program. The many hundreds of programs and projects supported in MEP included community language programs mounted by clusters of cooperating primary schools from the government, Catholic and independent "sectors; clusters shared specialist teachers, jointly developed materials, and used expert consultants. This concept first emerged within MECC, being based on the League of Co-operating Schools and pioneer work by Goodlad in U.S.A. As well as those in the inner city, clusters emerged in far-flung Sydney suburbs, such as Lane Cove and Brookvale, and in rural centres such as Armidale.

Consultants in major community languages (four to six at a time) were appointed to work at the primary level across "sectors" and across geographical regions according to needs, while two evaluators furnished descriptive profiles for participating schools and for MECC. A rather remarkable degree of flexibility was exercised within the usually unwieldy New South Wales Department of Education (which is the largest educational system in Australia).

In 1980 a State Budget allocation was made to support 30 specialist community language teachers for appointment to primary schools above staff establishments, ensuring the possibility of programs independent of Federal Government funding. The first group of teachers selected were for the languages Arabic (7), Greek (8), Italian (7), Turkish (3), Maltese (2), Macedonian (1), Spanish (1) and Portuguese (1). One of the great difficulties in many such initiatives in multicultural education has been the supply of qualified teachers with adequate community language skills; many persons interviewed for such positions, who are accepted for teaching, fail to pass the oral language tests conducted. Without employment of exchange teachers or of teachers recruited overseas, it will not be possible to mount many desirable programs until Australian tertiary institutions produce graduates qualified in community languages and community language pedagogy. Ten more specialist teachers were supported by the next budget allocation, and also transitional bilingual education programs for infants were set up in selected schools by movement of qualified bilingual infant teachers.

Within the system of schools in the nine dioceses coordinated by the Catholic Education Commission, similar initiatives have occurred. Although resources have not been available for specialist teachers at primary level, the autonomy of principals in selecting staff resulted in the appointments of class teachers with community language skills. Some independent schools have also mounted special programs.

By 1980 community language programs in more than 20 languages were being offered at primary level, and at secondary level (although infrequently during weekdays in languages other than French and German).

ESL Programs in Schools

The ESL situation as described was quite extensive, but chaotically ad hoc. The real needs could not be identified because of lack of data : the numbers of children receiving special ESL instruction, the types of programs in which they were placed, the levels of need for ESL (first, second and third phases of learning) and the outcomes of ESL were not known - an extraordinary situation after a decade of program development. The need for adequate preparation of both classroom and specialist ESL teachers was clearly noted: only in the Victorian Secondary Division was a TESL qualification required for teachers.

Ethnic Schools

The chapter on ethnic schools is one of the most interesting contributions in the Report, since little information on them had previously been available. Tsounis (1974) had made a study of Greek ethnic schools; Kringas and Lewins (1981) had made an exploratory study of some selected ethnic schools - Italian (four), Greek (four), Ukrainian (one), Slovenian (one). The response to the survey undertaken was low, but 84,310 pupils were estimated in Victoria and New South Wales in 1980. A 1977 survey of ethnic schools by the Social Development Unit of the Ministry of Education had located 28,743 pupils in ethnic schools in New South Wales, compared with the 17,117 shown by this report (p. 48). However, large increases were noted between 1977 and 1980 in both New South Wales (25%) and Victoria (55%). The increases were particularly great in large ethnic communities, such as Greek and Italian communities, and in relatively recent ethnic communities, such as Turkish, Vietnamese, Arabic-speaking, Spanish and Portuguese communities (p. 51).

Most pupils in ethnic schools were primary-school children attending schools organised after hours, but it was noted that a few ethnic schools of large communities, such as the Italian, in some States were able to organise insertion classes in conventional day schools; cooperation with TAFE authorities also occurred. Others were found to take the form of independent day schools; 48 independent ethnic day schools were identified. Some such schools, with community language instruction and with elaborate ethnic studies programs apparently requiring special staff, were described as demonstrating "the integrative aspect of ethnic cultural diversity by featuring a co-existence of ethnic identity with a deep commitment to Australia" (p. 46).

The "outstanding academic records" of a number of ethnic day schools were noted, suggesting that they could not be seen "to constitute a liability" and that other ethnic schools were unlikely to do so (p. 47). In that case, it is surprising that a stronger commitment to some form of structural pluralism was not recommended for government schools. However, the middle-class children in fee-paying ethnic day schools may benefit from educational resources of a quality superior to that available in many after-hours schools.

The quality of education in ethnic schools was a major concern of the Review group which recommended payment to the schools provided that there was no restriction of access and that some standard information was supplied. This incentive to formal organisation of ethnic schools, and such an information base, could lead to plans for eventual integration of many schools with the conventional government educational systems. Such integration would be extremely expensive for governments if high quality programs were provided. At present, as this report showed, the emphasis is clearly on some support for the provision of monolingual and monocultural studies in the private voluntary domain of education, continuing to use relatively low-cost teachers and other resources from ethnic communities, but also continuing the process of legitimation of this new "sector". However, it should be noted that several new independent ethnic and international day schools have recently been set up, and others are planned for 1984. Presumably these schools qualify for government funding in the same ways as other independent schools.

Higher Education

The chapter on tertiary institutions is also of interest in considering the selected three components of multicultural education. Italian and Modern Greek were identified as the Cinderella languages of the universities, for which there was considerable demand but insufficient provision. Enrolments in Italian have more than doubled, and in Modern Greek have tripled, since 1975. Funds for the establishment of Modern Greek have come almost entirely from the Greek community and endowments continue to cover much of the recurrent costs.

The purposes of universities were defined as the presentation, transmission and extension of knowledge, the training of skilled manpower and the critical evaluation of society, following the Sixth Report of the Australian Universities Commission in 1975.

It was argued that, amongst the three components of multicultural education selected, the study of community languages and cultures largely achieves the first purpose, the teaching of English achieves the second purpose and studies of ethnic and cultural diversity largely achieve the third purpose. Unfortunately, academics engaged in a critical evaluation of society often show some hostility to and intolerance of the forms of multicultural education advocated (for example, see Chipman, 1980; Sharp, 1980).

The Tertiary Education Commission was identified as powerful and influential, despite its supposed function as an advisory body and its assertions concerning the privacy of autonomous systems and institutions (p. 119). It was found that weightings attached to several criteria influencing its judgment were not known. The Tertiary Education Commission was apparently unique in not having its own source of advice on multicultural education matters compared with other agencies concerned with policy development (pp. 129-130). There have been some past adjustments in the cultural orientation of course offerings but the Kramer Committee of 1975 suggested that the development of courses in the languages and cultures of ethnic groups was then long overdue (p. 60) and little change has since occurred. (However, there was a lack of information on some institutions known to have taken action in the area of migration studies, such as Macquarie University.)

ESL for Adults

The chapter on adult migrant education also collected together some relevant information and revealed pitiful inadequacies in the service provided. It identified provision for new arrivals on the On-Arrival Program of the Adult Migrant Education Program as the subject of a separate later report (April 1981), which found teacher education to be a major concern. Little concern was apparent for the issue of the permanence of tenure, which was sought (and has now been gained) by approximately 5,000 tutors employed in this service. A concern expressed for the qualifications of tutors was appropriate based on evidence of selection procedures.

The loss of talent to the community as a whole and the personal frustration experienced by many immigrants whose control of English is not adequate were outlined (p. 91). Only 6,178 students were enrolled in classes during 1979/80. The real demand was not known, although 2,000 students were reported to be awaiting tuition in 1980. The average number of hours of instruction received per student was not noted - it is possible that some 900 hours are needed for adults to learn English on average.

The variety of programs of the on-going phase of instruction was outlined, including the Home Tutor Scheme, courses in industry, and teaching English by television. The case for the use of the multicultural television service for teaching English, with the provision of printed bilingual support materials, was strongly made (p. 105).

Recommendations

The twenty recommendations included major proposals for research into the effectiveness of strategies of ESL for various groups of learners, and into the organisation and resource levels of ethnic schools.

There were several proposals for tertiary education, involving the three selected areas of multicultural education. In particular, recommendations were concerned with more and better courses in a wider range of community languages and with increasing the access of students to them. Both the needs of general and specialist teachers were taken into account in considering teacher education.

The upgrading of existing courses for adult immigrants was recommended, with strong support for the use of multicultural television for teaching English, together with written explanatory material in community languages.

The real priorities were shown by the recommendations of specific financial grants for ethnic schools ($30 per head p.a.), and for the establishment in universities of courses in community languages and cultures (which could lead to availability of qualified teachers of community languages). The recommendations were quickly implemented by the Federal Government.

EVALUATION OF POST-ARRIVAL PROGRAMS AND SERVICES

(Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs, May, 1982)

The Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs requested A.I.M.A. in September 1981 to prepare an evaluation of the objectives and the implementation of the Report of the Review of Post-Arrival Services and Programs to Migrants.

The Evaluation of Post-Arrival Services and Programs (A.I.M.A., 1982(a), 1982(b)) indicated little change in the implementation of programs in education and identified again the urgent need for research to generate the most basic descriptive data. A recommendation was made for the setting up of a National Advisory and Co-ordinating Committee on Multicultural Education in an attempt to promote a cohesive, nation-wide approach to policy formation and implementation.

English As A Second Language

The lack of system-wide responses to the previously identified needs was evident, indicating the continuation of a "second-phase" view of such programs as ad hoc remediation for the disadvantaged. The current situation was summarised as shown below:

> The Program's operation at the school level reflects the diversity of Australian schools and systems and the autonomy granted in most systems to individual schools. While policy, funding, staff resources and advisory services are centrally administered, the Program is school-based in all other respects. Limited data are available from school authorities in the States on the Program's operation at the school level. There is no comprehensive profile of the actual duties and deployment in schools of teachers funded through the Child Migrant Education Program, nor of the number of migrant children assisted or the number of migrant children in need of assistance but not receiving it. Similarly, there is a lack of detailed information on the organisational strategies in use in the provision of English-language teaching, the methods and materials used by teachers; and the extent of proficiency gain by migrant children receiving English instruction.
>
> (A.I.M.A., 1982(b):15)

The results of a National Survey carried out in 1980 by the School's Commission indicated that about 575,000 students (20% of the school population) were of non-English speaking background (NESB), (to the second generation - a child born in an overseas country or a child one of whose parents was born in an overseas country in which English was not the language predominantly spoken).

The number of ESL teachers was estimated to be about 2,930. Staff/student ratios were then derived of 2:217 (for all NESB students) and of 1:163 (excluding those who spoke English at home). This was deemed a satisfactory situation, but may be more problematical in that students' actual needs, and therefore the need for new methodologies involving small groups and long term assistance, were not known.

Formal recommendations addressed again the need for research: that the Schools Commission should conduct research into the development of English-language competence and should develop suitable instrumentation; that a survey should be carried out to determine the actual levels of ESL competence; and that legislation should be amended to oblige the collection of educational and financial data (A.I.M.A. 1982(a):330).

Multicultural Education Program

Again, there was lack of information to enable more than a general assessment of MEP and few descriptive details were presented.

It was noted that most funds had gone to schools with a high proportion of students from non-English speaking backgrounds (A.I.M.A. 1982(b):18), indicating perhaps that such schools had applied more frequently and/or had been favoured by MECC's assessing proposals.

In practice, therefore, multicultural education was primarily viewed as curriculum for immigrants in particular residential areas, perhaps again reflecting the philosophical position of remediation for the disadvantaged.

While commenting critically on the use of MEP funds to supplement recurrent expenditure such as teachers' salaries, one recommendation addressed that need. Teachers of community languages would thereby be accorded status similar to that of ESL teachers at present.

Other recommendations were for the allocation of funds equally to community language and multicultural education programs and for basic descriptive research to be carried out.

No further recommendations were made for ethnic schools, but the appointment of some seven ethnic schools' liaison officers (whose roles varied across ethnic school-based and government school-based activities) was noted.

Tertiary Institutions

Although the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission (CTEC) had drawn the attention of universities and State co-ordinating bodies to the findings of the previous Review, it was considered that there had not been an adequate response in improving the quality of existing professional courses, increasing the access of immigrants to these courses and facilitating the recognition of previous professional qualifications (A.I.M.A., 1982(a):130).

Within professional and vocational courses, the response had been greatest within teacher education, but courses and units tended to be optional and of short duration. There were few components within courses based in politics, sociology, history and culture (p.131).

Expansion of tertiary courses in community languages had been proceeding. In December, 1981, twelve new courses were approved for 1982, in a range of languages including Polish, Vietnamese, Turkish, Maltese, Greek, Italian, Serbian, Croatian, Macedonian, Arabic, Portuguese and Pitjantjatjara

It was recommended that CTEC " should pursue with tertiary institutions steps to ensure that multicultural perspectives and components are introduced into tertiary courses" (p.133), and that the Australian Research Grants Committee (ARGC) should fund research into multicultural education (p.134).

NATIONAL ETHNIC SCHOOL SURVEY, REPORT WITH RECOMMENDATIONS, VOLUMES 1-4 (1982), BY MARLENE J. NORST, SCHOOL OF MODERN LANGUAGES, MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY

Following the recommendation of A.I.M.A. (1980), a national survey of ethnic schools was carried out for the Schools Commission by Associate Professor M.J. Norst at Macquarie University (Norst, 1982a,b).

The terms of reference referred to: identifying the attitudes and views held about ethnic schools; providing a descriptive profile of ethnic schools; examining the needs of ethnic schools in respect of teachers' qualifications, modes of upgrading qualifications and maintaining standards, curriculum materials and equipment and administrative support; assessing current relationships and offering options for possible relationships between part-time ethnic schools and the formal education system (Norst, 1982:2).

The most accurate descriptive term for the schools was considered to be [- - -] Community Language School, since the use of such a title would "focus on the community basis of these schools, indicate the main subject taught in an authentic cultural context and suggest openness rather than exclusiveness (p.5).

It was reported that in 1982 there were more than 62,000 students in 1,200 part-time community-based schools learning 57 community languages. In the survey, 973 schools were located.

Other interested researchers may be given access to the large data bank assembled. The research project was notable for the large numbers of persons of non-English speaking background who assisted in their professional capacities, as well as for the participation of many hundreds of persons in ethnic schools.

The largest numbers of schools were for the Greek communities (374) and the Italian communities (151); many schools were also found for the languages Arabic (46), Spanish (38), Turkish (38), Croatian (34), Chinese (32) and Polish (32); a few schools were found for relatively "invisible" languages such as Finnish (3), Punjabi (2), Gaelic (Scots) (6), Romany (1) and Welsh (1). The oldest school was a part-time Jewish school founded in 1865 in Brisbane; 191 new schools were established in 1980-81.

There were 3,089 teachers, of whom 18% held Australian teaching qualifications, 20% had overseas qualifications recognised in Australia, 26% had overseas qualifications not recognised in Australia and 36% had no formal teaching qualifications; it was noted that some teachers had academic qualifications but no teaching qualifications; 67% had no difficulty in speaking English (pp. 62-63) in their view.

According to the survey 55% of ethnic school teachers wished their languages to be taught in full-time schools, 27% in ethnic schools, 33% in both systems and 8% thought that language teaching was primarily a responsibility of the home (p.187). The major concern of ethnic school organisations was the quality of teaching (p.187).

The main target areas for urgently required funding were found to be -

"(i) teachers' salaries at a minimum standard rate for all schools
(ii) premises (rent, cleaning, insurance)
(iii) maintenance (clerical assistance, printing, postage, etc.)
(iv) books and materials
(v) equipment
(vi) transport
(vii) teacher training and development
(viii) curriculum development
(ix) teaching innovations (e.g. residential vacation schools)
(x) consultants' services."

(p.196)

As far as is known, the report has not yet been released by the Schools Commission. The recommendations were of considerable interest, since they suggested formal recognition of ethnic schools as a clearly defined fourth sector of schools to receive public funding, thus achieving due status in relation to the other existing three sectors of schools - government, independent and Catholic education system schools. Other ancillary recommendations were also made, as shown below.

"Summary Of Recommendations

... 1. Part-time Community Language Schools be granted official recognition as a clearly defined sector in Australian education.

2. A Commonwealth Co-ordinating Committee for Part-time Community Language Schools be established within the Commonwealth Schools Commission to operate through State Co-ordinating Committees.

> 3. Government funding of part-time Community Language Schools be disbursed in clearly identified areas of need, with policies for immediate and long term disbursement clearly distinguished.
> 4. The development of co-operative interaction between part-time Community Language Schools and full-time schools be actively promoted.
> 5. Continued community participation in part-time Community Language Schools be ensured.
> 6. Groups facing special needs be given particular consideration, particularly very small communities, those recently arrived and those dispersed over a wide area.
> 7. Funding be allocated for research in the area of part-time Community Language Schools."
>
> (Norst, 1982:viii)

In the Schools Commission's "Recommendations for 1984" (Schools Commission, 1983) there are only a few signs that the report has been taken into account. The Ethnic Schools Program has been renamed the Community Languages Teaching Program; insertion classes in schools are grudgingly accepted (p.38) although a movement towards conventional community language teaching classes in such schools is favoured above insertion classes and above classes in ethnic schools. It is suggested that central funds be allocated for improvement in teaching methods and curriculum materials, as well as the continuation of per capita grants (p.39).

In the three reports compiled since the Review of Post-Arrival Services and Programs which have been discussed above, there is increasing emphasis upon the maintenance of community languages, indicating some support for the claims for ethnic rights, power and participation which have been characteristic of the most recent definition of immigrant status within education. The increasing numbers and organisation of part-time ethnic schools, and the increasing numbers of full-time independent ethnic and international schools which are eligible for government support, reflect the growing expertise of some ethnic community groups in taking care of their interests.

The form of development of relevant tertiary courses within existing Australian tertiary institutions, the requirement of open admission to ethnic schools supported by the government and the continued emphasis on acquisition of English indicate continuing support for integrative forms of policy in multicultural education.

RESEARCH NEEDS

Research into the implementation of educational policy has recently assumed significance in U.S.A. As a result Glazer (1982) and other scholars identified the key role of strong federal involvement (including powerful legislation) in enforcing equal educational opportunities and considered that the battles had been won.

In Australia, the A.I.M.A. Review of Multicultural and Migrant Education, unable to assess the extent of institutional responses, noted that "the initial question relating to multicultural and migrant education is what is actually taking place in schools" (A.I.M.A., 1980:23).

The A.I.M.A. Evaluation of Post-Arrival Services and Programs recommended stronger measures than previously used to initiate research into policy implementation in the Child Migrant Education Program and, to a lesser extent, in the Multicultural Education Program, as shown by the following recommendations:

> "[Recommendations]
>
> 22. The State Grants (Schools) legislation should include arrangements for the collection of data on financial and educational aspects of the English as a Second Language Program. The Schools Commission should report annually from 1983 onwards. Its report should indicate: expenditure; numbers of teachers and associated research staff employed; the number of students benefitting from the program; the number of students in need receiving no ESL assistance; and the outcomes of ESL in terms of proficiency gain."
>
> "[Recommendations]
>
> 25. The Schools Commission should broaden its current review of the operations of the Multicultural Education Program to include an evaluation of the impact of the program on school curricula and programs including
>
> . an assessment of the developments undertaken in multicultural education through Multicultural Education Program funding
>
> . an evaluation of the impact of these developments
>
> ......"
>
> (A.I.M.A., 1982(b):48-49)

Subsequently, the School's Commission Recommendations for 1984 (School's Commission, 1983:34) referred to a review of the English as a Second Language Program and to other research to be undertaken in 1983 following on from the Evaluation of Post-Arrival Programs and Services.

Reference is also made (p.36) to the beginning of an evaluation of the Multicultural Education Program.

Glazer (1982) defined the key problem now for all students, including minority group students, to be the quality of education. He noted lack of attainment and lack of ambition and, with others, called for identification and extension of programs which worked and elimination of those which did not.

Many studies of curriculum development in the 1960s showed that changes in organisation and in the formal school curriculum did not always result in changes in the content or the process of classroom instruction. Recent studies of achievement in the U.S.A. (see Dougherty, 1981), which have used more sensitive measures of achievement than in many previous studies, have demonstrated the importance for the achievement of minority group students of teacher attributes (such as attitudes and expectations), of process variables (such as those of classroom interaction) and of certain contextual variables, principally the forms of organisation (such as tracking or streaming) and the provision of resource materials of good quality.

The failure in Australia to make comparative studies testing the relative merits of integrated or withdrawal English-As-A-Second-Language (ESL) classes has been noted (see A.I.M.A., 1980:29).

There were few suggestions for comparative research in the recent Australian reports examined. References to assessing proficiency gains in English were made but not to assessing proficiency gains in community languages nor to other outcomes.

More comparative studies are needed, both within schools, across schools and across systems, relating key variables such as those noted above to educational outcomes. Those outcomes may be concerned with life chances, such as achievement in various types of subject matter, credentialling, entry to higher and further education and entry into occupations. Competence in English and in other languages should be related to such outcomes.

The educational outcomes may also be concerned with life styles, such as achievement in and attitudes towards cultural and linguistic components of the curriculum which are valued by ethnic community groups and are likely to have effects upon them; examples of such effects are stronger maintenance of community languages, better communication across generations, and the participation of persons outside traditionally defined groups. Outcomes based on common civic learnings are also important, both for instrumental and integrative reasons.

The Schools Commission Recommendations for 1984 noted a widespread concern for the quality of secondary education (Schools Commission, 1983:2-3) but no reference to the situation of students of ethnic backgrounds was made.

Overall, recent policy for multicultural and migrant education in Australia as defined by Federal Government has been moving towards the full recognition of equal opportunities and equal rights for persons of ethnic background.

Professional persons of ethnic background have increasingly been involved in the carrying out of research and giving advice mainly through the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs (until the recent change of government early in 1983).

However, the measures recommended to improve policy implementation in the States are relatively weak - the Schools Commission also identified Federal-State relations as a cause of problems in the "Recommendations for 1984" - being at the level of consultation and co-ordination. One exception was the suggestion that legislation should be amended to ensure research into ESL, which is now being carried out. Stronger suggestions for action may also be needed to ensure that other relevant research is carried out.

REFERENCES

AUSTRALIA. BROADCASTING TRIBUNAL (1981). *Submissions to the Inquiry Into Cable and Subscription Television Services and Related Matters*. Sydney: Australian Broadcasting Tribunal.

AUSTRALIA. COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO POVERTY (1971). *Interim Report. Poverty in Australia*. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.

AUSTRALIA. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION (1975). *Report of the Inquiry Into Schools of High Migrant Density*. Canberra: Department of Education.

AUSTRALIA. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION (1976). *Report of the Committee on the Teaching of Migrant Languages in Schools*. Chairman, J.W. Mather. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.

AUSTRALIA. IMMIGRATION ADVISORY COUNCIL. IAC. (1960). *The Progress and Assimilation of Migrant Children in Australia*. Special Committee of the Immigration Advisory Council. Chairman, W.R. Dovey. Canberra: Department of Immigration.

AUSTRALIA. INSTITUTE OF MULTICULTURAL AFFAIRS. A.I.M.A. (1980). *Review of Multicultural and Migrant Education*. Chairman, F. Galbally. Melbourne: Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs.

AUSTRALIA. INSTITUTE OF MULTICULTURAL AFFAIRS. A.I.M.A. (1981). *Review of the On-Arrival Education Program*. Melbourne: A.I.M.A.

AUSTRALIA. INSTITUTE OF MULTICULTURAL AFFAIRS. A.I.M.A. (1982a). *Evaluation of Post-Arrival Programs and Services*. Chairman, F. Galbally. Melbourne: A.I.M.A.

AUSTRALIA. INSTITUTE OF MULTICULTURAL AFFAIRS. A.I.M.A. (1982b). *Evaluation of Post-Arrival Programs and Services. A Summary*. Chairman, F. Galbally. Melbourne: A.I.M.A.

AUSTRALIA. REVIEW OF POST-ARRIVAL PROGRAMS AND SERVICES TO MIGRANTS. (1978). *Migrant Services and Programs. Report and Appendixes. Vols. 1 & 2*. Chairman, F. Galbally. Canberra: AGPS.

AUSTRALIA. SCHOOLS COMMISSION (1975). *Report for the Triennium 1976-1978*. Canberra: AGPS.

AUSTRALIA. SCHOOLS COMMISSION (1979). The Committee on Multicultural Education. Education for a Multicultural Society. Canberra: The Schools Commission.

AUSTRALIA. SCHOOLS COMMISSION (1983). Recommendations for 1984. Canberra: Commonwealth Schools Commission.

BERNSTEIN, B. (1975). Class, Codes and Control, Vol. 3. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

BOTTOMLEY, G. (1979). After the Odyssey. A Study of Greek Australians. Brisbane: University of Queensland Press.

BOURKE, S.F. and KEEVES, J.P. (1977). Australian Studies in School Performance, Vol. III, The Mastery of Literacy and Numeracy: Final Report. Education Research and Development Committee Report, No. 13. Canberra: AGPS.

CARROLL, J. (1977). Puritan, Paranoid and Remissive: A Sociology of Modern Culture. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

CHIPMAN, L. (1980). The menace of multiculturalism.. Quadrant, 24, (10), 3-6.

CLYNE, M. (1977). Bilingual education - present and past. Paper presented at 48th ANZAAS Symposium, Melbourne: Monash University.

COHEN, G. (1981). Culture and educational achievement. Harvard Educational Review, 51,(2), 270-285.

CORDASCO, F. (Ed.) (1976). Bilingual Schooling in the United States. New York: McGraw-Hill.

CRAVEN, E. Personal communication, 1979.

DOUGHERTY, K. (1981). Essay Review. After the Fall: Research on School Effects Since the Coleman Report. Harvard Educational Review, 51, (2), 30, 1-308.

ENCEL, S. (1982). Introduction, in S. Encel/J. Martin, The Ethnic Dimension, Papers on Ethnicity and Pluralism by Jean Martin, Sydney: George Allen & Unwin.

GARDINI, A. (1982). Multicultural Education Policy. Unpublished thesis, Master of Education, University of Adelaide.

GLAZER, N. (1982). Responses. Equality of educational opportunity. Special Issue. Rethinking the Federal Role in Education. *Harvard Educational Revue*, 52, 4, 460-462.

HOLENBERGH, R.M. (1978). Ethnic identity and education, in P.R. de Lacey and M.E. Poole (Eds.) *Mosaic or Melting Pot, Cultural Evolution in Australia*. Sydney: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 343-365.

HUBER, R. (1977). *From Pasta to Pavlova*. Brisbane: Queensland University Press.

KAHN, H., BROWN, W. and MARTEL, L. (1976). *The Next 200 Years*. New York: William Morrow.

KAHN, H. and PEPPER, T. (1980). *Will She Be Right? The Future of Australia*. St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press.

KRINGAS, P. and LEWINS, F. (1981). *Why Ethnic Schools? Selected Case Studies*. Canberra: Australian National University Press.

LAMBERT, W.E. (1977). The effects of bilingualism on the individual: Cognitive and sociocultural consequences, in P.A. Hornby (Ed.) *Bilingualism. Psychological Social and Educational Implications*. New York: Academic Press.

LUMB, P. (1980). Review Article. Education for a Multicultural Society by the Committee on Multicultural Education, Canberra. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 1, (3), 58-62.

MARJORIBANKS, K. (1980). *Ethnic Families and Children's Achievements*. Sydney: George Allen and Unwin.

MARTIN, J.I. (1978) *The Migrant Presence. Australian Responses 1947-1977*. Sydney: George Allen and Unwin.

MARTIN, J.I. and MEADE, P. (1979). *The Educational Experience of Sydney High School Students*. *A Comparative Study of Migrant Students of Non English-Speaking Origin and Students Whose Parents Were Born in an English-Speaking Country*. Commonwealth Department of Education and Academy of Social Sciences in Australia. Canberra: AGPS.

MARTIN, J.I. (1982a). Migrants: Equality and ideology, in S. Encel/J. Martin *The Ethnic Dimension*. *Papers on Ethnicity and Pluralism by Jean Martin*. Sydney: George Allen & Unwin.

MARTIN, J.I. (1982b). The economic condition of migrants, in S. Encel/J. Martin The Ethnic Dimension. Papers on Ethnicity and Pluralism by Jean Martin. Sydney: George Allen & Unwin.

NORST, M.J. (1982a). Ethnic schools: What are they and what would they like to be? Journal of Intercultural Studies, 3(2), 6-16.

NORST, M.J. (1982b). National Survey of Ethnic Schools. Unpublished Report. School of Modern Languages, Macquarie University.

OVERBERG, H. (1981). Dutch in Victoria 1947-80: Community and ideology. Journal of Intercultural Studies, 2(1), 17-36.

PARKER, N. (Ed.) (1973). Focus on Migrants. A Social Work Perspective. Sydney: ACOSS.

PRICE, C.A. (Ed.) (1971). Australian Immigration: A Bibliography and Digest, No. 2. Department of Demography, A.N.U., Canberra: Australian National University Press.

PASSOW, A.H. (1970). Deprivation and Disadvantage: Nature and Manifestations. Hamburg: UNESCO Institute for Education.

POPPER, K.R. (1945). The Open Society and Its Enemies. London: G. Routledge.

RIESSMAN, F. (1962). The Culturally Deprived Child. New York: Harper and Row.

RIST, R.C. (1979). On the education of guest-worker children in Germany: Public policies and equal educational opportunity. Comparative Education Review, 355-369.

SHARP, R. (1980). Knowledge, Ideology and the Politics of Schooling. Towards a Marxist Analysis of Education. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

SMOLICZ, J.J. (1979). Culture and Education in a Plural Society. Canberra: Curriculum Development Centre.

SMOLICZ, J.J. (1981). Cultural pluralism and educational policy. Australian Journal of Education, 25(2), 121-145.

TSOUNIS, M.P. (1974). Greek Ethnic Schools in Australia: Monograph No. 1. Department of Demography, A.N.U., Canberra: Australian National University Press.

WESCOMBE, R.W. (1980). Schools, Communities and Politics in N.S.W. Occasional Paper 6, Department of Education, University of Sydney.

YOUNG, C., PETTY, M. and FAULKNER, A. (1980). Education and Employment of Turkish and Lebanese Youth. A Study funded by the Commonwealth Department of Education under its Review and Evaluation Program. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.

YOUNG, R.M. (1977). Multicultural Education in New South Wales. Proceedings of the Sociology Section, 48th Symposium of ANZAAS. Melbourne.

APPLYING EMPIRICAL METHODS IN COMPARATIVE RESEARCH: AN EXAMPLE

EMMANUEL GAUCI

Empirical positivist methodology has had wide credence and application in Australian educational research. It could be argued that this search for 'hard data' owes its origins to the impact of the scientific method on psychology, illustrated by the work of Fisher[1] and Thorndike.[2] This tradition has been transmitted and legitimated in Australia through such institutions as the Australian Council for Educational Research and supported by a network of practitioners in Australia's institutes of tertiary education. However, as Simkin[3] noted two years ago, Australian comparativists generally have avoided using positivist approaches to test or to build theories of educational change.

The purpose of this paper is to report on one piece of research which sought to apply the empirical positivist approach in order to identify causal relationships between culture and educational achievement, and in so doing attempt to tease out the factors which influence the achievements of Australian children from minority backgrounds. The paper is divided into four sections: a description of the problem and its theoretical dimensions; a description of the methodology, its utility and limitations; a report of the research and its findings; discussion of the value of the approach as used.

The argument put forward, as a result of this examination, is that empirical approaches to comparative educational research do have their place. Keeping in mind the underlying assumptions and limitations of the method, it is possible to use empirical methodology not only to test models and theoretical constructs but also to identify alternative causal relationships.

THE PROBLEM

The research sought to identify factors influencing the educational achievement of Maltese-Australian students in Melbourne schools. It was an attempt to clarify the role that one's cultural background may have in contributing to success at school. There were three broad theoretical issues underlying the research: the causes of educational disadvantage, the nature of cultural transmission in the classroom, and the nature of minority-majority group relations.

The debate on educational disadvantage is broad and covers a wide range of possible causal factors. It could be suggested, for example, that Maltese-Australian students are disadvantaged because they are immigrants or the children of immigrants, and as such do not possess the English language skills or value systems necessary to succeed at school. Martin,[4] Keats and Keats,[5] Johnson,[6] De Lemos,[7] Evans and Poole,[8] and Rosenthal and Morrison,[9] for example, examine the role that knowledge of the English language has on the achievement of children from non-English speaking backgrounds. Research by Martin and Meade,[10] Marjoribanks,[11] and Browning[12] indicates that immigrant parents have different expectations of schooling and different value orientations which influence the scholastic achievement of their children.

On the other hand, some commentators, such as Eipper[13], argue that social class not ethnicity is the critical factor in this situation. Educationalists, such as Bernstein,[14] Deutsch,[15] and Toomey[16] argue that lower class families do not provide their children with the socio-cultural experience, perspective or structures necessary to ensure scholastic attainment. Majoribanks suggests that lower class immigrant families belong to powerless social groups because they are not in a position to pass onto their children the cultural capital related to achievement.

Finally, it could be argued that immigrant school children are disadvantaged because they participate in a school system which is an alienating experience, designed primarily to label and to select only the 'bright' students (see for example, Knight[17] and Meade[18]).

However, as Australia has a multicultural population, it could be suggested that educational achievement is indicative of successful cultural transmission. Hansen,[19] Bourdieu[20] and Kimball[21] argue that the school is the formal mechanism through which a set of knowledge, values, skills and behaviour patterns are given meaning, legitimacy and validity. Furthermore, if one accepts the argument put forward by Berger and Luckmann[22] that knowledge is a socially constructed and distributed set of perceptions, information and values, then it seems reasonable to propose that within a multicultural society such as ours there exists differing perceptions of reality and of knowledge. Consequently, it could be argued that children from minority groups, such as the Maltese, fail at school because they do not share the same set of criteria which determine the selection and legitimation of knowledge.

The possibility of cultural impact on knowledge and behaviour has been suggested by recent research by Dunkin and Doenau[23] who found that classroom behaviour and interaction was influenced by cultural values.

Underlying both these debates is the central issue of social power, that is, the nature of relationships between a majority, powerful, superordinate group with minority, powerless, subordinate groups. As low income earners, are immigrants to be classified as members of a working class and so tied into a class-based relationship? Or do members of ethnic communities relate to a dominant majority on terms determined by cultural parameters such as the desire to retain and perpetuate important aspects of their culture, for example language and religion, through structural or personal arrangements? Schemerhorn,[24] for example, argues that the nature of the integration of an ethnic group into a community is dependent upon the interaction of competing centrifugal and centripetal forces, and the response of the majroity group to these pressures.

Hence, in an attempt to identify causal relationships between cultural background and scholastic acheivement, the research had to answer questions related to the nature of minority-majority social group relationships; how such social relations impinged upon the education of children from minority ethnic groups, and to what extent did differing cultural backgrounds influence the perception and definition of knowledge, and in so doing have an effect on the educational achievement of these children?

THE METHOD

The attitude adopted in this research was that understanding the implications of the findings of positivist methodologies required a knowledge of the sociocultural reality within which that data was located. Consequently, apart from asking students to complete tests in order to collect the 'hard data', background information about the sociocultural environment of the Maltese was also collected. This background information, based on interviews, published material, documentary evidence from schools and my own knowledge of the community, was interpreted in order to obtain an image of traditional Maltese culture, the workings of the community in Melbourne, the position of Maltese students and parents in schools, their attitudes and expectations of schooling and education, and the attitudes of school systems to the Maltese.

Underlying this approach were a number of assumptions about the utility and capability of the method employed:

1. Positivist methodology, that is, the establishment and verification of educational situations through the testing of specific hypotheses, was a relevant and appropriate tool;
2. Comparison of the test scores and in particular the results of the statistical analyses comparing the scores of differences sexes and different ethnic groups would assist our understanding of the processes associated with the achievement of educational outcomes among children from minority ethnic groups;
3. Concepts such as 'educational achievement', 'ethnicity' and 'intellectual ability' could be measured, that is, defined in such a manner as to allow these variables to operate within a positivist framework;
4. The nature of a group's perception of knowledge would be reflected in scores on two sets of psychological tests: a test of cognitive style and standardised tests of intelligence;
5. Causal relationships can be identified and examined through the application of inferential statistical techniques such as regression analysis;
6. Minority-majority social group relations would be reflected in the degree of similarity in the students' achievement scores, cognitive style and the patterns of relationships between educational outcome and predictor variables.

A total of ninety-seven students participated in the research. The students were in Year 10 and attended five post-primary schools located within a municipality in the western suburbs of Melbourne. That local government area was selected as it contained over one-quarter of the total Maltese community living in Melbourne. It should be noted that over half of Melbourne's Maltese community live in the western suburbs. Hence, the Maltese-Australian sample that was selected was thought to be reasonably representative of the Maltese community in Melbourne. All the students had undertaken their entire schooling in Australia. All but three were Australian-born.

Fifty-one Maltese Australians (25 male and 26 females) and forty-six Anglo-Celtic Australians (24 male and 22 female) were asked to complete two questionnaires and were given six tests over a period of two half days:

- a Group Embedded Figures Test designed by Witkin and associates to measure one's cognitive style, that is, the degree of field dependence or independence possessed by the student;
- two standardised intelligence measures: the nonverbal Raven's Matrices test and the verbal ACER Higher M Test;
- an Australian adaptation of the Cooperative Reading Comprehension test to measure reading ability in the English language;
- two cognitive skills tests based on ACER Item Banks which were trialled and validated in western suburban schools with large numbers of Maltese and non-Maltese students. The tests were in Social Science and in Mathematics/Science.

Students' test scores were analysed by the use of t tests, ANOVA and regression analysis. T tests for independent means and analysis of variance were used where indications were sought of the significance of the differences in the mean scores of identifiable groups of students. The use of these methods was limited however for two reasons. Firstly, two assumptions underlying these techniques, namely the normal distribution of students in each ethnic group and the equality of variance in both groups were not met in this research. Secondly, although techniques such as ANOVA are robust with respect to violation of these to assumptions, this is only the case where there are equal numbers in each sample.[25] As this did not occur in this research care was taken in applying and interpreting the results.

Multiple regression analysis was the major statistical technique used to anlayse the test results because it was able to identify factors associated with school achievement and to describe the pattern of relationships among the predictor variables. Multiple regression analysis seeks to determine what weighted combination of independent variables will provide the best prediction of a dependent variable. Consequently, as a descriptive method it is capable of expressing the proportion of variance accounted for by these independent variables. Each variable contributes its own unique influence and also a joint influence with other variables in the equation. It is possible to compare the size of these contributions by comparing the standardised beta weights and by comparing changes in the coefficient of determination, R^2. This coefficient expresses the proportion of Y accounted for by the independent variable or variables. Thus, it was possible to identify the nature of the influences on students' achievements and to compare the way in which these factors operated.

Clearly, the method used to collect and analyse the data had a number of advantages and limitations. On thepositive side it was a means of obtaining information about the level of scholastic achievement of students of Maltese background. This role was important because little has been written about this ethnic group and what is known has generally been judgements based on teacher impressions and prejudices. Secondly, the analysis identified influenctial variables and described their effect on achievement. In so doing, our understanding of the processes associated with school achievement was refined as the complexity of the situation was made apparent. Finally, the use of empirical data allowed comparisons to be made of the processes influencing Maltese-Australian students with those affecting their peers in the majority culture, thereby increasing our appreciation of the cultural influences on learning.

On the other hand, the application of empirical research has its own limitations which must be recognised. The collection of data through the application of standardised tests can be described as artificial both in the manner with which the data was collected and in the relevance of the tasks required to be completed. To some extent the latter point was acknowledged by my efforts to produce two measures of educational outcome using criterion-based reference tests designed in co-operation with the relevant subject teachers. The potentially irrelevant content of the intelligence measures was accepted on the basis that such tests defined and organised knowledge in a culturally specific manner, and the skills they sought to measure as reflective of intelligence were chosen by cutlurally determined criteria. Thus it was expected that these tests would be useful measures with which to highlight cultural differences in the perception of knowledge. Secondly, the application of various statistical techniques assumed that the relationship between the variables was linear and that they acted independently of each other. However, this mathematical principle may not necessarily be an accurate description of the situation. Non-linear relationships do occur and need to be examined and recognised (once our techniques increase in sophistication). Hence, one needs to be aware of the perception of reality which empirical methodologies impose upon the data if such approaches to research are to be used effectively.

FINDINGS OF THE RESEARCH

The research sought to test two hypotheses. Firstly, it was proposed that Maltese-Australian students were more field dependent than Anglo-Celtic Australians. This hypothesis was based on the theory, supported by reserach undertaken overseas,[26] that individuals who live in closely knit family structures and in communities which stress social conformity were more likely to be field dependent than those who live in a more open, less structured society. Secondly, an examination was made of the role which cognitive style, as a predictor variable, had on educational achievement. American Researchers[27] argue that current educational practices require field independent modes of thinking because they stress analytic, independent problem-solving techniques and strategies in which field dependent students are less skilled.

The data indicated that there was no significant difference between ethnic groups in terms of their cognitive style (Table 1). However, analysing the GEFT scores to compare differences between the sexes (Tables 2 and 3) indicated that Maltese-Australian families were signficantly more field dependent than Maltese Australian males, whose GEFT score was more similar to that of their Anglo-Celtic peers.

Table 1: Two-way ANOVA Table of GEFT by Ethnicity and Sex

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	P
Main effects:					
Ethnicity	54.42	1	54.44	2.00	n.s.
Sex	202.77	1	202.77	7.44	0.05
Interaction	19.85	1	19.85	0.73	n.s.
Residual	2535.40	93	27.26		
Total	2819.32	96			

Table 2: Mean and standard deviation scores of male and female Maltese-Australian students on GEFT scores

	Male Students	Female Students
Mean	12.56	8.81.
S.D.	4.95	5.64
Number	25	26
t value	-2.53	

Table 3: Mean and standard deviation scores of male and female Anglo-Celtic Australian students on GEFT scores

	Male Students	Female Students
Mean	13.17	11.23
S.D.	4.46	5.68
Number	22	24
t value	-1.27	

This pattern was duplicated in the scores on the two standardised intelligence measures. As stated earlier, these tests can also be perceived as measures of the degree to which Maltese-Australian students organise knowledge and execute cognitive tasks in a manner similar to that used and accepted as the 'norm' by members of highly industrialised, technological advanced Western societies.[28] The mean scores of Maltese-Australians on these tests were significantly lower than those of their Anglo-Celtic counterparts (Table 4), with the scores of Maltese-Australian females significantly lower than those of Maltese-Australian males, a pattern not replicated among the Anglo-Celtic Australian population. (Tables 5 and 6).

Table 4: T-test values between Maltese-Australian and Anglo-Celtic Australian populations, in relation to scores on intellectual ability measures.

Measurement		Maltese-Australian	Anglo-Celtic Australian	T-Value
Matrices	$\overline{X}$ S.D.	108.47 13.39	114.30 10.79	-2.37*
ACER Higher Test	$\overline{X}$ S.D.	99.14 12.65	106.65 13.02	-2.88*
Higher Test Subtest L	$\overline{X}$ S.D.	95.63 11.15	104.07 12.10	-3.56*
Higher Test Subtest Q	$\overline{X}$ S.D.	103.90 14.08	107.51 13.27	-1.30

Table 5: T-test values between Maltese-Australian females and male samples, in relation to scores on intellectual ability measures.

Measurement		Female	Male	T-value
Matrices	$\bar{X}$ S.D.	104.89 15.60	112.20 9.56	2.03*
ACER Higher Test	$\bar{X}$ S.D.	95.08 10.65	103.40 12.34	2.47*
Higher Test Subtest L	$\bar{X}$ S.D.	92.77 9.64	98.6 12.01	1.91*
Higher Test Subtest Q	$\bar{X}$ S.D.	100.73 15.55	107.20 13.04	1.67*

Table 6: T-test values between Anglo-Celtic Australian females and males in relation to scores on the intellectual ability measures.

Measurement		Female	Male	T-value
Matrices	$\bar{X}$ S.D.	115.50 11.61	113.21 10.11	0.71
ACER Higher Test	$\bar{X}$ S.D.	104.68 13.31	108.46 12.79	0.98
Higher test subtest L	$\bar{X}$ S.D.	102.73 12.07	105.29 12.25	0.71
Higher test subtest Q	$\bar{X}$ S.D.	106.18 13.54	108.71 13.18	0.64

Examining the regression analyses of the students' scores also highlights a number of interesting patterns. Cognitive style did not appear as a major predictor variable in accounting for the variance in the scores of any of the groups on the three academic tests. As reported in Table 7, GEFT generally made a very small, independent contribution, its largest being 3 per cent for the social science skills scores of Anglo-Celtic Australian students. In comparison, reading and intellectual ability seemed to be more influential.

Table 7: Results of regression analyses for Anglo-Celtic Australian and for Maltese-Australian samples, with performance on all three academic tests as the outcome

Outcome	Reading comprehension		
	Variable	Beta	R^2
ANGLO-CELTIC AUSTRALIAN	Intel	0.81	0.55
	Sex	0.17	0.56
	GEFT	-0.12	0.58
	School	-0.09	0.58
MALTESE-AUSTRALIAN	Intel	0.62	0.43
	Sex	0.12	0.43
	School	-0.09	0.44
	GEFT	0.02	0.44
Outcome	Mathematics/science skills		
	Variable	Beta	R^2
ANGLO-CELTIC AUSTRALIAN	Intel	0.60	0.58
	Reading	0.15	0.59
	School	-0.07	0.59
	GEFT	0.06	0.59
	Sex	-0.04	0.59
MALTESE-AUSTRALIAN	Intel	0.32	0.25
	School	0.24	0.28
	Reading	0.22	0.31
	Sex	-0.10	0.31
	GEFT	0.03	0.31
Outcome	Social Science skills		
	Variable	Beta	R^2
ANGLO-CELTIC AUSTRALIAN	Reading	0.66	0.60
	GEFT	0.22	0.63
	Sex	-0.17	0.66
	School	-0.05	0.66
	Intel	0.03	0.66
MALTESE-AUSTRALIAN	Intel	0.69	0.63
	Reading	0.31	0.67
	Sex	-0.19	0.70
	GEFT	-0.07	0.71
	School	-0.03	0.71

Secondly, while Maltese-Australian students performed less well on all the academic tests than their Anglo-Celtic Australian peers, the pattern and nature of influences on these scores varied, more so within the Maltese sample than within the Anglo-Celtic sample or between ethnic groups. The regression analyses indicate that the nature of the relationships between the independent variables and the size of their contribution to the variance in students' achievement were similar between Maltese-Australian males and the Anglo-Celtic Australian group.

Examining the variance in reading ability (Tables 8 and 9), for example, over half of the variance in students' scores was accounted for by the combination of factors, intellectual ability, cognitive style and school, with the most important variable being intellectual ability (as indicated by the large size of its beta weight and the value of its R^2). However, these same factors only contributed 35 per cent to explaining the variance in the reading scores of Maltese-Australian females.

Table 8: Results of regression analyses for Maltese-Australian male and female samples, with performance in reading comprehension as the outcomes.

Outcome	Reading comprehension		
	Variable	Beta	R^2
MALES	Intel	0.64	0.51
	GEFT	0.19	0.54
	School	-0.05	0.55
FEMALES	Intel	0.59	0.32
	School	0.17	0.34
	GEFT	-0.06	0.35

Table 9: Results of regression analyses for Anglo-Celtic Australian male and female samples, with performance in reading comprehension as the outcomes.

Outcome	Reading comprehension		
	Variable	Beta	R^2
MALES	Intel	0.87	0.55
	GEFT	-0.27	0.58
	School	-0.16	0.61
FEMALES	Intel	0.77	0.59
	GEFT	-0.07	0.59
	School	0.04	0.59

A different pattern emerged with reference to accounting for the variance in students' mathematics/science skills scores. The combination of predictor variables - intellectual ability, reading, GEFT and school - accounted for 77 per cent of the variance in the scores of Anglo-Celtic males, nearly 50 per cent for Anglo-Celtic females and Malese-Australian males, and only 20 per cent for Maltese-Australian females (see Tables 10 and 11). Identifying the relative importance of intellectual and reading abilities, it appears that intellectual ability is a major predictor for Anglo-Celtic Australian males, and in combination with reading ability, a major predictor for Anglo-Celtic Australian males and females, and Maltese-Australian males (Tables 12 and 13).

Table 10: Results of regression analyses for Maltese-Australian male and female sample, with performance in the cognitive skills tests as outcomes.

OUTCOME	Mathematics/science skills		
	Variable	Beta	R^2
MALES	Reading	0.39	0.37
	School	0.25	0.44
	GEFT	0.20	0.48
	Intel	0.17	0.49
FEMALES	Intel	0.49	0.19
	GEFT	0.08	0.20
	School	0.07	0.20
	Social Science skills		
	Variable	Beta	R^2
MALES	Intel	0.53	0.71
	Reading	0.41	0.79
	School	0.10	0.80
	GEFT	0.01	0.80
FEMALES	Intel	0.74	0.63
	Reading	0.23	0.67
	GEFT	0.11	0.67
	School	0.04	0.68

Table 11: Results of regression analyses for Anglo-Celtic Australian male and female samples, with performance on the cognitive skills tests as outcomes.

OUTCOME	Mathematics/science skills		
	Variable	Beta	R^2
MALES	Intel	0.69	0.74
	GEFT	0.17	0.76
	School	-0.10	0.77
	Reading	0.04	0.77
FEMALES	Intel	0.58	0.42
	Reading	0.34	0.46
	GEFT	-0.28	0.47
	School	0.19	0.49
	Social Science skills		
	Variable	Beta	R^2
MALES	Intel	0.69	0.55
	GEFT	0.42	0.66
	School	-0.10	0.67
	Reading	0.09	0.67
FEMALES	Intel	0.82	0.75
	School	-0.08	0.76
	GEFT	-0.05	0.76
	Intel	0.02	0.76

Table 12: Unique and shared contribution of intelligence and reading to the proportion of variance accounted for in the cognitive skills scores of male and female Anglo-Celtic Australian students.

	Mathematics/science Skills Achievement			Social Science Skills Achievement		
Sex	Variable	Percentage Contribution		Variable	Percentage Contribution	
		Unique	Shared		Unique	Shared
MALE	Intelligence	33	41	Intelligence	0	45
	Reading	3*		Reading	10	
FEMALE	Intelligence	6	36	Intelligence	0	48
	Reading	4		Reading	29	

* Contribution shared with other variables

Table 13: Unique and shared contribution of intelligence and reading to the proportion of variance accounted for in the cognitive skills socres of male and female Maltese-Australian students.

Sex	Mathematics/science Skills Achievement			Social Science Skills Achievement		
	Variable	Percentage Contribution		Variable	Percentage Contribution	
		Unique	Shared		Unique	Shared
MALE	Intelligence	1*	30	Intelligence	13	58
	Reading	6		Reading	8	
FEMALE	Intelligence	14	1	Intelligence	29	33
	Reading	5*		Reading	4	

* Contribution shared with other variables

As reported in Tables 10 and 11, the combination of intellectual ability, cognitive style, reading ability and school accounted for more of the variance in the social science skills scores of Maltese-Australian males (80 per cent) and Anglo-Celtic Australian females (76 per cent) than for Maltese-Australian females (68 per cent) and Anglo-Celtic Australian males (67 per cent). However, comparing the relative importance of intellectual and reading abilities, the shared contribution of these two variables was the most important predictor, with the uniuqe contribution of reading ability the next major influence on the scores of Anglo-Celtic Australian while that of intellectual ability was the next important predictor among the Maltese-Australians (Tables 12 and 13).

Thus, the research identified not only differences in academic achievement and in cognitive style, but also differences in the nature of influences which explain the scholastic performance of Maltese-Australian and Anglo-Celtic Australian students. Furthermore, the research indicated that unlike the Anglo-Celtic Australian sample, there were distinct differences among the Maltese-Australian sample students, with males in that group sharing more characteristics with their Anglo-Celtic peers than did the Maltese-Australian females.

These differences within the Maltese-Australian sample raises important questions about the manner with which minority-majority social group relations may impinge upon members of a minority group. Combining the empirical data outlined above with sociological and anthropological knowledge about traditional Maltese culture, its patterns of socialisation and identification of sex roles, and about the nature of Maltese settlement in this part of Melbourne (where due to the concentration of Maltese families living in this suburb, a strong measure of communal support has been obtained for the maintenance of traditional values), it has been possible to postulate that Maltese-Australian males and females inhabit slightly but significantly different environments where the values, behaviour and skills which are promoted in that environment result in varying degrees of acquisition of mainstream Australian culture. The cultural mores and expectations placed upon males are such that they encourage an outward socialising experience with other males - a situation which enables them to acquire the language, cognitive skills, cognitive approaches and style, necessary to achieve at school. On the other hand the demands of Maltese culture on females restrict their movement to the home, thereby limiting their access to mainstream language and culture, and probably ensuring a perpetuation of traditional Maltese perspectives which are not catered for by Australian schools.

CONCLUSION: THE UTILITY OF EMPIRICAL METHODOLOGY

In the research reported above the application of empirical positive methodology proved to be valuable. Information was obtained about the cognitive style and educational achievement of students from minority and majority social groups. The statistical analysis provided indications of causal relationships, for specific groups, between a number of predictor variables and scholastic success. These findings have been the basis for productive comparisons to be made with the findings of other research, and in so doing, assist in the process of developing appropriate models.

The findings of the research indicated that Maltese-Australian students, like other students from minority ethnic backgrounds, did not perform as well as Anglo-Australian students.[29] More importantly, the research indentified different responses between Maltese-Australian males and females. This differentiation is an important finding as it suggests a need to be aware of the interaction between sex and cultural background when considering the response of members of minority groups to mainstream culture.

In the past, Australian research has tended to identify members of minority groups either as migrants, for example Evans and Poole,[30] or as members of specific ethnic groups, as do Martin and Meade.[31] The research reported here seeks to refine our understanding of the processes involved by considering the interaction of sex and culture - a process which has been given attention recently by the research of Dunkin and Doneau[32] who found that the way in which migrant children responded to the classroom situation depended upon the interaction of sex and culture and the manner in which that interaction impinged on their personality and behaviour.

There is a growing trend in research on aspects of multicultural education for users of comparative, positivist methodologies to identify more specifically the characteristics of their sample and the hypothetical relationships they propose to test. Recent research such as Moore and Rosenthal[33] have sought to identify interactions between sex and ethnicity on self-image. Majoribanks[34] also refined his sample in a recent study on ethnic families by locating ethnic groups within particular social classes, although he recognised his failure to consider sex-related differences as a major restriction of his results. Finally, Jakubowicz and Wolf[35] in a study of parental views of schooling identified different responses from parents from the same ethnic group - highlighting the necessity of being cautious of approaches which pool data about members of similar ethnic groups into one set of generalisations.

If comparative researchers are to make any input into clarifying our understanding of the processes associated with the education of children from minority groups then we require more sophisticated models than those currently available. Schermerhorn's typology[36] for example goes some way towards refining our understanding by proposing that the interaction of an ethnic group to its environing society will depend on the manner with which the majority group in society responds to the decisions made by minority groups to retain aspects of their cultural heritage. The research reported above suggests that the satisfaction of an ethnic group's model tendencies may vary within that group, depending on such factors as sex and social class. The relationship between members of a subordinate group to the dominant mainstream culture may in fact be an interaction between the individual's sex and culture with the mainstream culture. These may be a two-order interaction: a first order interaction between sex and culture which may depend upon the values of that culture, and secondly, an interaction between the culture of the individual (the result of the sex by culture interaction) with that of the mainstream culture. If these are the processes involved, then we require a model of formal cultural transmission that can incorporate diverse social and cultural variables. At the same time, educational researchers must be prepared to test such theoretical propositions by the sensitive use of appropriate methodologies, be they positivist or descriptive.

FOOTNOTES

1. R.A. Fisher, Statistical Methods for Research Workers. London: Oliver and Boyd, 1925.

2. E.L. Thorndike and R.S. Woodworth, 'The influence of improvement in one's mental function upon the efficiency of other functions', Psychological Review, 1901, 8: 247-61, 384-95, 553-64.

3. K. Simkin, 'Theories of educational change and Australian comparative education'. In A.R. Welch (ed.), The Politics of Educational Change. Armidale: ACIES, 1981, pp.21-34.

4. J. Martin, 'The education of migrant children in Australia 1945-75'. In C.A. Price and J.I. Martin (eds.), Australian immigration: a bibliography and digest no.3, 1975. Canberra: Department of Demography, A.N.U., 1976, pp.1-20.

5. D.M. Keats and J.A. Keats, 'The effects of language on concept acquisition in bilingual children', Journal of Cross-cultural Psychology, 1974, 5(1): 80-99.

6. E. Johnson, 'The predictive validity of the Raven's Progressive Matrices test with migrant children, 1977, Rescent, 1(3): 37-41.

7. M.M. De Lemos, Study of the Educational Achievement of Migrant Children. Melbourne: A.C.E.R: ,1975.

8. G.T. Evans and M.E. Poole, 'Relationships between verbal and non-verbal abilities of migrant children and Australian children of low socioeconomic status', Australian Journal of Education, 1975, 19(3): 209-230.

9. D. Rosenthal and S. Morrison, 'On being a minority in the classroom', Australian Journal of Education, 22(2): 140-166.

10. J.I. Martin and P.H. Meade, The Educational Experience of Sydney High School Students: Report No.1, Canberra: A.G.P.S., 1979.

11. K. Marjoribanks, Ethnic Families and Children's Achievement. Sydney: George Allen and Unwin, 1979.

12. K. Browning, 'Parental aspirations to and for their children's education'. In P.P. De Lacey and M.E. Poole (eds.), Mosaic or Melting Pot. Sydney: Harcourt, Bruce, Jovanovich, 1979, pp.202-212.

13. C. Eipper, The Magician's Hat: A Critique of the Concept of Ethnicity. Paper for presentation at the Ethnicity and Class Conference, University of Wollongong, 1981.

14. B. Bernstein, 'On the classification and framing of educational knowledge'. In M. Young (ed.), Knowledge and Control. London: Collier Macmillan, 1971, pp.47-69.

    B. Bernstein, 'Education cannot compensate for society', New Society, 26 February, 1970, pp.344-347.

15. M. Deutsch, 'Early social environment and school adaptation', *Teachers College Record*, 1965, 66(8): 703.

16. D. Toomey, 'The interaction of home and school in the production of educational inequality. Ph.D. Thesis, La Trobe University, 1980.

17. T. Knight, 'Powerlessness and the student role: structural determinants of school status', *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology*, 1974, 10(2): 112-117.

18. P. Meade, Equality of Educational Opportunity of Students of Non-English Speaking Migrant Origin and Students with Australian-born Parents. Paper presented at the 1981 Annual Conference of the Australian Association for Research in Education, Brisbane, 1982.

19. J.F. Hansen, *Sociocultural Perspectives on Human Learning*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1979.

20. P. Bourdieu, 'Systems of education and systems of thought'. In M. Young (ed.), *Knowledge and Control*. London: Collier Macmillan, 1971, pp.189-207.

21. S.T. Kimball, 'The transmission of culture'. In J.I. Roberts and S.K. Akinsaya (eds.), *Schooling in the Cultural Context*. N.Y.: David McKay, 1976, pp.257-271.

22. P. Berger and T. Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1966.

23. M.J. Dunkin and S.J. Doneau, 'Ethnicity, classroom interaction and Achievement', *Australian Journal of Education*, 1982, 26(2): 171-189.

24. R.A. Schemerhorn, *Comparative Ethnic Relations: A Framework for Theory and Research*. N.Y.: Random House, 1970.

25. G.V. Glass and K.D. Hopkins, *Basic Statistics for the Behavioural Sciences*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1978, pp.348-49.

26. See for example, R. Cohen, 'Conceptual styles, culture and non-verbal tests of intelligence', *American Anthropologist*, 1969, 17: 828-856.

    M. Ramirez and D. Price-Williams, 'Cognitive styles of children of three ethnic groups in the United States', *Journal of Cross-cultural Psychology*, 1974, 5: 212-219.

27. For example: A. Castaneda and T. Gray, 'Bicognitive processes in multicultural education', *Educational Leadership*, 1974, 32: 22, 32: 203-207.

    R. Cohen, 'Conceptual styles'. *op.cit*.

    H. Witkin, C. Moore, D. Goodenough and P. Cox, 'Field-dependent and field-independent cognitive styles and their educational implications', *Review of Educational Research*, 1977, 47: 15-17.

28. P. Berger, K. Berger and H. Kellner, The Homeless Mind. Harmondsworth., Penguin, 1975.

29. For example: S.F. Bourke and J.P. Keeves, Australian Studies in School Performance, vol.3, Canberra: A.G.P.S., 1977. ,

    M.M. De Lemos, Educational Achievement of Migrant Children, op.cit.

30. G.T. Evans and M.E. Poole, 'Relationships between verbal and non-verbal abilities', op.cit.

31. J. Martin and P. Meade, The Educational Experiences of Sydney High School Students, op.cit.

32. M.J. Dunkin and S.J. Doneau, 'Ethnicity, classroom interaction and achievement', op.cit.

33. S. Moore and D. Rosenthal, School Adaptation to Ethnic Diversity. Paper presented to the Annual Conference of the Australian Association for Research in Education, Brisbane, 1982.

34. K. Majoribanks, Ethnic Families, p.58.

35. A. Jakubowicz and E. Wolf, Immigrant Parents and Port Kembla Schools. Wollongong: Centre for Multicultural Studies, 1980.

36. R.A. Schermerhorn, Ethnic Relations, op.cit.

TOWARDS A METHODOLOGY FOR THE STUDY OF AUSTRALIAN MULTICULTURAL EDUCATIONAL APPROACHES USING THE IDEA OF "CULTURAL ACCOMMODATION" IN THE CROSS-CULTURAL CONTEXT OF DEVELOPING THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES

J. BENOIT and ALAN CUMMING

The methodology proposed is based on the idea that by examining patterns of domination and sub-ordination in the cross-cultural colonialist context of Third World countries, and, specifically, the manner in which such interaction influences the process of cultural accommodation, a comparative dimension of the concept of "accommodation" can be established. This concept can, in turn, be examined in terms of its appropriateness and potential value in our own "internal" colonial situation, and its possible implications in formulating multicultural educational policies in our schools. The persistence of ethnicity may be attributed, as Cohen suggests, to the effect of "intensive interaction between ethnic groupings." [1] Such an approach enables us to take into account both subjective identification, as well as the specific cultural attributes manifested by groups. By focusing on the nature of the interaction taking place, moreover, one can also consider, importantly, the reasons that the content of culture associated with ethnic groups often undergoes significant alteration.

Formulation of approaches to multicultural educational policies at present appears to rely largely on the sort of thinking processes described in terms of the operation, Verstehen, or interpretative understanding of motives and meanings.[2] Theodore Abel[3] attempts to clarify this sort of operation which is performed whenever people attempt to explain human behaviour. First there is the "internalizing" of observed factors in a given situation, followed by the application of a behaviour maxim which makes the connection between these factors relevant. Applying this sort of process to current multicultural educational policies it seems that policy-makers accept that Australian society is heterogeneous, comprising a number of different ethnic groups existing in a minority/majority relationship. This has led to a compromise between traditional ethnic cultures and a common Australian culture. The important feature of the operation of Verstehen is, then, the postulation of an intervening process located inside the human organism by means of which we recognize an "observed" or "assumed" connection as relevant or meaningful.

From this description several inferences can be drawn in respect to the limitations of Verstehen. One of its most obvious limitations is its dependence upon knowledge derived from personal experience. Abel,[4] for example, emphasizes that an individual's ability to define behaviour will vary with the amount and quality of the personal experience, and the introspective capacity of the observer. There is also the importance of the concept of "Wertbeziehung"[5] in that not only are the values of the persons making the decisions and their culture involved, but also those of the persons who are affected by the decisions. The nature and degree of ethnocentrism, particularly in the dominant group, which has been influenced and strengthened by the nature of our colonial legacy[6] and institutionalized patterns of behaviour resulting from it, would clearly influence decision making. This emphasizes the importance of the question of subjectivity which writers on Verstehen have failed to reach agreement on.[7] This awareness of ethnocentrism would lead us to question, for example, Schutz's[8] statement that "common sense knowledge of everyday life is sufficient for coming to terms with fellow men, cultural objects, social institutions - in brief, with social reality". Although Schutz claims that predictions based on Verstehen are continuously made in common sense thinking with high success, this sort of subjectivity where understanding the motives of another depends simply upon the uncontrollable, private and unverifiable intuition of the observer or refers to his private value system, would be inadequate. One could, moreover, equally well predict a significant failure rate, especially in terms of predictions or decisions relating to different cultural groups. Peter Winch's [9] study of the African Azande, illustrates this very well.

It is too easy to take for granted our actual or potential knowledge of the meaning of human actions and their products as the correct or "real" meaning. The subjective feelings which may be communicable only to members of that particular group, emphasize the inadequacy of present approaches to ethnic diversity which assume that participants in the dominant cultural group can determine policies which adequately reflect the realities of those belonging to ethnic minority groups.[10] Emphasis on our society as a culturally pluralist society and the resulting emphasis on objective manifestations of the cultural reality of specific ethnic groups does have a specific ideological aspect.[11]

Complexities involved in the concept of ethnicity [12] suggest the simplistic nature of present approaches. They also reflect, however, the difficulty of establishing a satisfactory approach to determining the needs of these groups. Despres,[13] in fact, suggests that in spite of recent works and studies of the concept of ethnicity, "it is apparent that a theoretical framework capable of informing comparative ethnic studies has not yet emerged". On another level, however, he emphasizes: "a convergent line of development is evidenced by a glossary of concepts which includes, inter alia, ... ethnic boundaries, populations, groups, and stratifications; and boundary maintenance and incorporation processes such as accommodation, assimilation, and conflict". [14]

The methodology proposed may be a means of responding to these difficulties in developing policies for meeting the needs of ethnic groups in our society. The emphasis is in examining attitudes, assumptions and resulting interactions in the classical colonialist relationship in order to develop conceptual clarity, consistency and generality. This may, in turn, help to develop an increased apprehension of the relationship between dominant and sub-ordinate ethnic groups in our own "internal" colonial situation where the significance of ethnic status is seen to derive primarily from the imperative relationships which they enjoin.[15] Policies appropriate in developing countries may not necessarily be appropriate for the "internal" Australian colonial situation. Placed in the comparative dimension, a basis for comparative study is established without implying that solutions or hypotheses based on an understanding of the concept will be identical in each case.

The choice of developing Third World countries as a basis for a proposed comparative study needs to be examined in terms of its relevance and potential value for providing insights into the relationships between the dominant, "mainstream" cultural groups and subordinate ethnic minority groups in Australia.

Traditionally Australian comparative education has been restricted to the study of education in Western "democracies". This is based on the assumption that it is in these areas that similarities are to be found. Some comparative educationists state this explicitly. Halls,[16] for example, in outlining his cultural method of comparative studies, emphasizes that he is specifically concerned with comparing like with like and with ascertaining how far the theories and practices extant in one "industrialized" society are susceptible of operation in another, similar society. Holmes[17] similarly restricts his methodology to emphasizing the comparative perspective in relation to Western industrialized countries. One could suggest that all too often the basis of this assumption is related to the perpetuation of the myth that education on the local scene is an essentially homogenous venture in a monocultural society. Australia may be able to more profitably develop insights by examining the more strikingly, pluralistic cross-cultural context of some Third World countries. Remi Clignet,[18] writing in the context of African education, focuses on questions arising from the impact and conflict created by different cultures impinging on the individual. His concerns illustrate the potential value of examining other areas, and policies developed there in response to an awareness of cultural diversity, especially, since in these areas the fact of heterogeneity has long been recognised and accepted. The validity of the selection of Third World countries as a basis for comparative research rests not only on the more immediately apprehended aspect of heterogeneity; insights into attitudes and values in a pluralistic society can be gained. These attitudes and values may be related to the influence of our colonial past and persisting colonialistic frameworks of thinking.

Writers [19] in the context of Third World countries have examined the nature of the colonial enterprise with a view to particularly explaining the attitudes developed in colonizer-colonized relationships and the persistence of such colonialist attitudes in the neo-colonial present. These ideas have been developed within the context of colonialism in its manifestations in what can be termed "classical colonialism" or "nation to nation" [20] colonialism. In drawing comparisons between colonialism and colonialist attitudes in this situation and issues relating to the question of cultural diversity in the Australian context, both the basis, as well as the limitations of such comparisons, must be considered.

The concept of "internal" colonialism can provide a useful framework for examining patterns of ethnic and racial dominance in a comparative perspective and developing insights into dominant/sub-ordinate relationships in our own culturally diverse society. "Classical" and "internal" colonialism share common roots, primarily that of the fact of colonialism where the enterprise encompasses the political, social and economic life of those countries involved in a situation in which "the colonizer rather than the colonized holds power for purposes the colonizer defines".[21]

Colonialism in its classical context involves "nation to nation" domination. Altback and Kelly also extend the usefulness and relevance of the concept of colonialism to the "internal" colonial situation in relationship to this definition. They see "internal colonialism" as

> the dominance of a "nation" (defined geographically, linguistically or culturally) within the national borders of another nation - state by another group or groups. Some

> of these dominated nations may at one time have been independent, such as American Indian tribes, but they are not at this time, independent.[22]

"Internal" colonialism has, historically, entailed a dominance established through usurpation and replacement. Altbach and Kelly believe the Indian tribes in America and the Aborigines in Australia may be considered colonized in that, although they were once independent, they are no longer independent political entities but rather subjugated groups whose rights to property are determined by the host government. Regardless of good intentions or even unintentional attitudes the effect is the subjugation of, and discrimination against, minority groups by the dominant group.

Further consideration could be given to the appropriateness and relevance of the idea of internal colonialism to our situation in terms of criteria advanced by other writers. These criteria range from very specific conditions which restrict the general usefulness of the concept by writers such as Van den Berghe,[23] to a more general and universal application of the concept accepted by writers such as Lyons [24] and Carnoy.[25]

Van den Berghe in defining "internal" colonialism refers to it as an "ideal" type and it is clear that the concept (referring to such phenomena as the rule of one ethnic group over other such groups, the presence of internal government within a government especially created to rule the subject peoples, and relations of economic inequality in which subject people are relegated to positions of dependency and inferiority in the division of labour and the relations of production) is appropriate for Aborigines but is questionable in terms of other ethnic minority groups.

Lyons establishes criteria which are more widely embracing and which can be seen as applicable to these groups, and he specifically sees the "mind set" of the person who is in power, that is the colonizer, as the main thing that distinguishes the colonialistic from other forms of human behaviour; a psychological justification to rationalize subjugation of others. Other writers would also extend the concept of colonialism to groups such as women, blacks and the working class on the basis of similarities of institutional experiences.[26] Carnoy,[27] for example, emphasizes the relationships of blacks and the working class to educational institutions as being basically similar to that existing in the classical colonial situation in that they do not control schools, either their uses or their content, just as the colonized had little control. It would be easy to simply accept this broader definition and apply it ad hoc to ethnic minorities in our society. However we propose that an analysis of relationships between the dominant and minority ethnic groups in Australian society can establish a case for arguing that these relationships reflect the relationships existing between colonizer and colonized in the nation to nation classical colonial situation, and that inequalities in our society can be perceived in terms of persisting colonialist attitudes. The important synthesizing element between "classical" and "internal" colonialism which is relevant to ethnic minorities in our society but not relevant to other groups such as women and the working class is the nature of the dominance which has its roots in racism and the development of racial ideology and ethnocentrism.[28]

Lanternari [29] shows how ethnocentric attitudes are directed, strengthened or weakened by historical conditions. The dominant/sub-ordinate relationships, deriving from racial ideology and ethnocentricism that reflect colonialist attitudes in both the "classical" and "internal" colonial situations makes the concept of "internal" colonialism specifically useful as a framework for viewing dominant and sub-ordinate ethnic groups in our society. Some of the characteristics of both "classical" and "internal" colonialism then that reflect these attitudes and clearly extend the concept of colonialism to include ethnic minority groups are summarized by Blauner:[30] colonized groups are forced to become part of the dominant society; they are disproportionately confined to various categories of low status labour; they are subject in all areas of their life to white bureaucratic control; their culture is destroyed, depreciated or transformed; and, finally, they are the victims of an ideology of racism which rationalizes the colonizer's domination over them. This does not imply that one would expect practices in both situations to be identical. One could emphasize, for example, how manifestations of racism, racial ideology and ethnocentrism in the internal colonial situation have emphasized the eradication of differences and the absorption of minority groups through assimilation or integration.[31] This, of course, is closely related to the dominant group's significant numerical superiority. In the "classical" colonial situation the minority status of the dominant group meant that assimilation was not an important issue. There the desire for the domination of the indigenous group, the majority, has led in some cases to a rejection of assimilation.[32] Ideologically, however, regardless of whether assimilation as a policy is adopted or rejected, the basis for the decision in varying situations can be associated with ensuring the continued dominance of the colonizer.

The rationale behind the comparative methodology being espoused here is to develop an awareness of how attitudes of racism and ethnocentrism inherent in the "classical" colonial context of developing Third World countries, may be used to develop insights into the self-conceptions and attitudes of the "colonizers" and "colonized", or dominant and sub-ordinate groups in the internal colonial situation. Such attitudes may derive from and reinforce the original power relations in the classical colonial situation. The manifestations may at present be different in that the specific colonial relationship enters less prominently into the lives of individuals so that it may well mean that racial awareness and ethnocentrism will be less overtly manifested, more subtle and institutionalized. In respect to the internally colonized their isolated position as dependent minorities may result, however, in an even clearer definition of difference between themselves and the dominant group and also influence the development of more negative self-conceptions than those perceived in their counterparts in the "classical" colonial situation.[33]

There are institutionalized patterns in our society which suggest the relevance of examining relationships between the dominant and sub-ordinate groups as a reflection of these colonialist attitudes. These attitudes can be specifically related to our colonialist past and the development of ethnocentrism. Hartwig [34] shows how, in the early days of contact, confidence in the material and spiritual superiority of British Christian civilization meant that few colonists came to investigate or respect Aboriginal culture. Aboriginal "incompetence" or "apathy" reinforced the racism implicit in the colonial situation, and encouraged the development of ethnocentrism. Hartwig also emphasizes how manifestations of racism and ethnocentrism often reflect conformity to social norms and historically derived patterns of thought and behaviour. Attitudes which were established in the colonial period, have remained a basic element in our relationship with minority groups. They have extended to all minority groups since the policy of, for example, assimilation, which was developed more specifically with reference to the Aborigines, was extended ad hoc to all minority groups. A study looking at White, Black and Chicano self-images and attitudes conducted by Jennifer Hurstfield [35] has focused on how this colonial relationship can enter into the self-conceptions of the colonizer and the colonized groups in the internal colonial situation. The results of the study support the observation of Fanon, Memmi and others that in a colonialist society the dominant group tends to define itself in universalistic categories, whereas a sub-ordinate racial group is more conscious of racial identity.[36] The study indicates how the concept of colonialism can provide a useful analytical framework that helps to place patterns of racial and ethnic dominance in a broad comparative perspective and thus provides a useful perspective for analysing the processes of cultural transmission in a multicultural society and thus, might, provide a basis for developing sound multicultural educational policies and programmes.

In formulating multicultural policy there appears to exist an ethnocentric assumption on the part of administrators that the culture of specific ethnic groups is readily identifiable and that policies can then be formulated to make a place for these in curricula and programmes. Even the term "multiculturalism" is used loosely and often uncritically. Multiculturalism is concerned with policies which are more frequently directed towards ethnic groups rather than cultural groups per se. Can a distinction be made between the two? And, if so, how important might the distinction be? It is argued here that there is a distinction and it is this very difference that highlights inadequacies in the present approach to multiculturalism and emphasizes the importance of the dominant/sub-ordinate status of ethnic groups in the community and the importance of colonialist attitudes in our own internal colonial context, in maintaining this dominant/sub-ordinate relationship. It is possible, of course, to speak of culture independently of ethnicity. The issue that must be addressed more closely here, however, is the extent to which ethnicity is accepted simply in terms of cultural differences. Certainly culture is related to ethnicity. Bullivant [37] emphasizes how, in understanding "culture" one must consider how, in their social relations, the members of a society interact through action systems using patterned behavioural styles. Pattern is provided by culture. Ethnic groups' action systems are thus programmed by cultures we feel we can identify. The tendency to define a group as having a certain set of cultural traits which, when aggregated, make up its ethnicity has had significant implications.

Naomi White [38] takes up this issue of the concept of culture and its relationship to ethnicity. She distinguishes three basic conceptions or tests for the existence of culture. The first she terms "culture-as-behaviour" where a culture may be said to exist if "regularities in beliefs, behaviours, relationships and artifacts are evident in a given population." The second is referred to as "culture-as-value orientations" where a culture may be said to exist if common values or orientations may be discerned to underlie the regularities in behaviour. It is the third aspect which Naomi White focusses on that is given relatively less attention than these first two and yet is potentially most significant in respect to ethnicity: that is, culture as "self-identification" and "a sense of community". Emphasis is placed on the validity and importance of participant definitions of experience. She argues that sub-societal group identity - ethnic identity - is dependent on this sense of community. Other writers similarly emphasize its significance. Bullivant points out that ideationally ethnics are bonded together by "feelings of belongingness and corporate identity".[39] R. A. Schermehorn's [40] definition of an ethnic group emphasizes the same perspective: notwithstanding the relevance of objective cultural manifestation, he believes "a necessary accompaniment is some consciousness of kind among members of the group".

What implications has this focus on the experience of "groupness" and "self-identification" for examining multicultural policies? Importantly it questions the adequacy and potential effect of the present emphasis which is more concerned with the recognition of, and response to, the more objectively apprehended manifestations of culture and it may provide some insight for explaining the lack of commitment and increased questioning of the relevance and impact of multiculturalism in terms of present approaches. Barth [41] suggests a possible explanation for this. He questions the validity of assuming a nexus between an emphasis on objective cultural differences and ethnic identification. He maintains that:

> a reduction in objectively verifiable cultural differences between ethnic groups does not correspond in any simple way with a reduction in the existence of cultural identities, nor with a break down in boundary maintaining processes.

This explanation may help to explain why assimilatory practices in the past have clearly not corresponded in any simple way with a reduction in the persistence of ethnic identities. Jerzy Smolicz [42] shows how, in fact, external pressures may bring forth counter measures that emphasize values that the group members consider as the cultural core of their group. Some such actions by ethnic groups may be observed in a plural society where there may be no persecution but where the ethnic cores may be threatened by assimilation to the ways of the majority.

Conversely, and pertinent to present multicultural approaches, is the probability that an increase in objectively verifiable cultural differences in the schools, will not necessarily correspond with an increased awareness of ethnic group identities.

Barth's view of an ethnic group as a boundary maintenance system emphasizes the significance of participant definition of experience. A most important characteristic of an ethnic group which separates one from the other, is that it: "has a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others, as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order".[43] What may be seen as problematic in respect to diverse groups in a complex society, then, may not be the objective manifestations of cultural differences themselves as much as the social conditions under which individuals band together as members of an ethnic group. Some deeper understanding of these social conditions contributing to boundary maintenance in a complex, heterogenous society such as our Australian society is, can, it is believed, be fruitfully developed within the framework of "internal" colonialism. Hechter has used the concept of "internal colonialism" [44] as an explanation for the persistence of ethnic identity around peripheral groups in complex societies and to develop an understanding of the relationship between core and peripheral groups. These relations reflect how, as a result of the initial fortuitious advantage gained by one group owing to the uneven wave of industrialization over territorial space, there is a crystallization of the unequal distribution of resources and power between the two groups. Once established, the superordinate group seeks to "stabilize and monopolize its advantages through policies aiming at the institutionalization and perpetuation of the existing stratification system". High status roles are generally reserved for members of this group while members from the sub-ordinate group tend to be denied access to these roles. Hechter refers to this stratification system as the "cultural division of labour". Policies ensuring the maintenance of this status quo may be specifically racist where an individual from the sub-ordinate group is denied certain roles by the active intervention of the state or they may be institutional racist policies providing differential access to institutions conferring status in the society at large. Hecter's use of the "internal" colonial model is specifically related to cultural groups identified in terms of "core" and "peripheral". His model assumes that these respective groups are to a large extent regionally concentrated. Although pockets of different ethnic groups in Australia do exist, such as Greeks in Melbourne and others as concentrated groups in different areas they are not regionally concentrated in the same respect as those in Hechter's study. Nevertheless, the usefulness and appropriateness of the "internal" colonial model is supported by some of his basic criteria. It has already been shown how, here in Australia, an initial advantage for the dominant group was largely determined by the initial colonial contact. This "early fortuitous advantage" led to a crystallization of the unequal distribution of resources and power, clearly establishing dominant and sub-ordinate groups associated with racial and ethnic origins. This relationship initially established in respect to the Aborigines continued and encompassed other ethnic groups in post-colonial society. The immigration of numerous other ethnic groups, even in relatively large numbers in post-war years, did nothing to challenge the super-ordinate role of the dominant group, owing largely to the position of these new groups as minorities. The stratification system, termed by Hechter, as the "cultural division of labour" has also operated here in the assigning of individuals to specific roles in the social structure on the basis of objective cultural distinctions. This can be seen as significant in examining ethnic group relations in our society, especially in the area of decision making where there is clearly greater concentration of power in the dominant group. This lack of control over their own schooling, as far as ethnic minorities are concerned, Carnoy [45] emphasizes as a reflection of the colonialist pattern. Concentration of decision making in the hands of a particular group tends to perpetuate and ensure this dominance. In as much as present multicultural policies do little to change this status quo, they are open to criticism. Institutional racist or ethnocentric attitudes in our society have, it is argued, also influenced the cultural division of labour by providing differential access to institutions conferring status in society. It has already been suggested that although there is nominally "equality of opportunity", sub-ordinate groups may be clearly disadvantaged by their ethnic background in terms of their ability to take advantage of these opportunities. The "hidden curriculum" of the school or the school's ideology is seen to effectively discriminate against these students. Even when these students do succeed Jean Martin's study indicated that factors other than accreditation of students may effectively prevent these students moving into higher status areas in the workforce.

We have examined the theoretical perspective which provides the basis of the proposed comparative methodology. What has been emphasized is not simply heterogeneity or even the identification of distinct cultural groups as the important basis of similarity to be emphasized in a comparative approach between our Australian society and that of Third World developing countries. The analysis of the nature of ethnicity and ethnic boundary maintenance suggests that what may be a more fruitful focus is the subjective sense of identify experienced by ethnic group members and the way in which this may be influenced by the sort of interaction taking place between distinct groups in society. These interactions are conceptualized in terms of the extent to which they reflect basically colonialist attitudes. These attitudes may be strikingly apparent in the "classical" colonial context. In the "internal" colonial context they may be more implicit, unconscious and indirect. The comparative approach, by focusing on such interactions may provide a useful method of analysing and revealing specific colonialist attitudes and approaches to difference.

The concept of "internal" colonialism, then, would appear to be a particularly useful focus from which to examine dominant and minority or sub-ordinate ethnic groups in our society, not only

Because it reflects the essential colonialistic relationship between these groups but also as it explains the structuring of interaction which may account for the persistence of cultural differences and ethnic identifications. Barth [46] emphasizes, for example, that the emergence of ethnic distinctions needs organizational requirements that involve first a categorization of population in exclusive and imperative status categories and second an acceptance of the principle that standards applied to one such category can be different from that applied to the other. The boundaries which Barth emphasizes in relation to ethnic groups are not so much territorial, (though these may exist) as social boundaries. This view of boundary maintenance and the kind of social interaction affecting it can be used to explain the perpetuation of the notions of a dominant, mainstream culture and that of sub-ordinate ethnic minorities. Although frequent assertions, for example, are made to the effect that it is no longer possible to identify a "mainstream" culture owing to the changes that are evident in this culture as a result of accommodation through social interaction, the "myth" of it persists. It is the ethno-centrism of the dominant (and indeed also the sub-ordinate groups) that distinguishes the difference between "us" and "them" and ensures, through a process of boundary maintenance, that the dominant/sub-ordinate roles are perpetuated. This relationship essentially reflects the attitudes and frame of mind of participants that can be identified as colonialistic.

These different views of culture and, particularly, the distinction between a "culture" and a "cultural group" suggest the importance in determining multicultural policies of finding a framework which will enable us to approach cultural differences and manifestations of ethnic "groupness" in a more meaningful way than simply identifying the more objective regularities of behaviour and culture orientations that can be investigated with observer categories. As Barth observes, a particular ethnic group may change the content of its anthropological culture in the course of time yet retain its internal cohesion as a group. Similarly such a group may also acquire entirely new notions about its origin and background, shifting its ascriptive loyalty to other criteria. In the process it will sometimes retain its cohesion but it may also lose its original feelings of group identity altogether. The reasons for such changes in ethnic groups may be complex. But a significant and continuing factor in accounting for these changes is the sort of interaction operating between the dominant and sub-ordinate groups in a society and the response of these groups to such dominance. The outcomes of ethnic encounter in our "internal" colonial context can be examined as a function of the interaction of migrant, receiver and process variables in a similar way to which the outcomes of racial encounter can be viewed as a function of colonized, colonizer and process variables in the "classical" colonial situation.

In proposing the methodology being extrapolated in this paper Francis maintains that comparative education may have reached the stage when "it can accept a simple, tested mode of thought without searching any further for an intellectual identity spelt out in terms of ever-increasing methodological novelty." [47] Francis locates the methodology clearly in the tried and tested hypothetico-deductive mode.

Francis makes only a minor attempt to support or justify the methodology yet the methodology has merit not only in terms of its appropriateness in relation to "classical" and "internal" colonialism, but also when it is examined in respect to methodological issues raised by writers working specifically in the field of comparative education. Lawson [48] supports the view that there is considerable scope and range available in both the area of methodology as well as interests in Comparative Education, and that the field can profit more from the "tension of difference" than from any "premature, artificial or oppressive unification". The methodology being proposed does deal with the issues that Lawson argues Comparative Education should be concerned with: firstly, it concentrates on the task of clarifying terms which we use, which accords with current work in the philosophy of education; secondly, it is vitally concerned with exposing the relationships which define the individual's self-identification and orientation to society; thirdly it is concerned with the necessary task of abstracting "those vital attitudes and values which lie largely below the level of individual consciousness and which are manifested in certain similarities in the ways groups of people behave in certain situations, or over time, or both";[49] fourthly, it is theory constructive - that is directed towards the conditional relationships which will allow for both regional and universal interpretations of comparative subjects; and, finally, it does proceed from identifiable social problems to their implications for educational institutions, thus increasing both the theoretical and practical capability of the field.

Anderson [50] emphasizes that comparative education focuses around a particular set of interests, which makes use of concepts and methods that are borrowed from academic neighbours. Anthropology, he observes has contributed little to study of education in different types of society. A possible reason for this, it is suggested, is that interest in cultural particularities has inhibited appreciation of commonalities. The use of anthropological case studies here is directed more specifically towards an increased understanding of the processes of interaction between dominant and sub-ordinate groups rather than the study of culture per se. In this respect much of what can be learned from observing how Western schools function in developing societies could help to provide a useful focus for educational policies concerned with instruction of children from ethnic minority groups.

Vandra Masemann [51] emphasizes the value of the anthropological approach to comparative education based on the interface between an "outside" formalized educational system and the "inside" world of the kin based observational learning situation. This perspective, it is suggested, can be used to help to understand the reasons that ethnic minorities in both America and elsewhere experience school failure. Several very basic assumptions underlie the anthropological approach to the study of schools and schooling.

The main one is that education itself is involved in the transmission of culture in all its aspects. Comparative studies may then help to delineate relevant variables more precisely and objectively.

Further support for the methodology lies in its incorporation of some important principles of comparative methodology, emphasized by other leading comparative educationalists. In this methodology, for example, the concept of cultural accommodation provides a unifying concept that enables a meaningful justaposition to be established between the Third World countries and the Australian milieu. This provides the extra dimension to the total thinking process which Bereday [52] maintains is at once the "hardest point to cross" in comparative studies and the "most substantial" contribution that comparative studies in general have to make. It thus would provide a genuine comparative approach in contrast with more straight forward area studies which, as Bereday points out, are frequently not necessarily comparative, even when a number of different areas are studied. Meaningful justaposition is indispensable to a study which purports to use the comparative methodology.

The scope of the study being proposed is deliberately narrow in its concept. The value of restricting the scope of the proposed study to an in depth analysis of the idea of cultural accommodation and its implications for policy makers can be supported as methodologically sound in terms of Holmes' [53] general consideration of the "problem approach" in comparative education. The initial problem, that of devising policies which reflect adequately the nature and extent of cultural diversity in Australia, can be accepted as a significant national issue - economically, socially and politically - with a clear educational dimension. Yet, as Holmes cautions, further, deeper analysis of the "same" problems might reveal considerable differences from one country to another that are more of "kind" than "degree". Some such differences can be isolated in respect to classical colonialism in Third World countries and the "internal" colonialism evident in the Australian context. Holmes argues the importance of formulating the perceived problem as precisely as possible in order to break it down for further study and to see to what extent it is universally applicable. The proposed methodology, by narrowing the focus to an analysis of the idea of cultural accommodation, would attempt to do this. It may, furthermore, provide a valuable methodological contribution in an area where Holmes points out the process of problem identification and analysis are as yet weakly developed - the area of the development of general concepts.

Unless policy makers are more fully aware of the nature of cultural diversity and the cultural reality of individuals within minority ethnic groups, policies introduced will continue to reflect the ethnocentric and ideologically committed views of the majority culture. This methodology may provide a possible means of responding to the challenge Holmes identifies in comparative education today: the development of techniques of study which will enable more realistic, less ideologically determined responses to be made. Thus, in emphasizing problem analysis and the adoption of hypothetical solutions, the aim is not to discover final truths and unconditional laws of social development. "Reality" can be described rather in terms of generalizations and specific initial conditions. The emphasis is then on the development of a theoretical, generalizing science of comparative education to assist in describing more adequately the initial conditions in respect to which new policies can be formulated.

Hopkins [54] refers to the value of a study undertaken by Margaret Mead comparing our educational system with indigenous educational systems of some cultures in the South Sea Islands as an example of how useful comparisons are sometimes ones that "cross large cultural gaps". He sees it as a necessary process in the attempt to overcome tendencies towards culturally biased analyses based on a shallow understanding of other cultures.

In analysing the concept of accommodation in this way and then assessing, perhaps by way of case studies, its relevance to our own

Australian situation of cultural diversity there is an earnest endeavour to make the study of this particular educational problem, which is, by its very nature, more frequently influenced by ideological commitment and value judgements more cognisance of the danger in a study dealing with cultural reality of the concept of Wertbeziehung [55] or interdependence. The methodology proposed considers the analysis of "accommodation" aims at theoretical conceptualization while the case study would attempt some investigation of the possible relevance of this concept in the context of cultural diversity in an Australian school.

From the insights gained from the analysis of the concept of cultural accommodation it is likely that some normative statements and suggested lines of approach might be made. While the "common" basis for comparison in respect to colonialism can be established the implications this may have for ethnic minorities in Australia may be very different from strategies considered appropriate in developing countries. It may be in terms of our awareness of these differences that we can develop a greater understanding or, or insight into, our own attitudes and values, and the way these are reflected in our educational system. Alternatively, it may be that an awareness of some specific areas of similarity in respect to cultural diversity and the sort of interactions taking place between dominant and sub-ordinate groups, will direct attention to the value of considering new approaches and methods in our schools so that cultural differences are not only recognized and acknowledged but also responded to in a meaningful way.

Notes and References

[1] A. Cohen, in G. L. Hicks and P. E. Leis, *Ethnic Encounters: Identities and Contexts*, Dunbury Press, Massachusetts, 1977, p. 11.

[2] T. Parsons, in F. R. Dallmayr and T. A. McCarthy, *Understanding and Social Enquiry*, University of Notre Dame Press, London, 1977, p. 57.

[3] T. Abel, "The Operation Called Verstehen", *ibid*., pp. 81 ff.

[4] *ibid*., p. 85.

[5] See T. Parsons, *ibid*., p. 63, for an explanation of this concept.

[6] See later.

[7] See A. Schutz, in F. R. Dallmayr and T. A. McCarthy, *op.cit*., pp. 231 - 2.

[8] *ibid*., p. 230.

[9] P. Winch, "Understanding a Primitive Society", *ibid*., pp. 159-179.

[10] See, for example, P. J. Bohannan in J. H. Dormon, "Ethnic Groups and 'Ethnicity': Some Theoretical Considerations", in *The Journal of Ethnic Studies*, vol. 7, no. 4, 1980, p. 23; P. R. de Lacey and M. E. Poole, *Mosaic or Melting Pot*, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Group, 1979, p. 327.

[11] See, for example, Jean I. Martin, *The Migrant Presence*, George Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1978, p. 216.

[12] See later for a discussion of this.

[13] L. A. Despres, *Ethnicity and Resource Competition in Plural Societies*, Mouton, Chicago, 1975, p. 191.

[14] *ibid*., p. 191.

[15] *ibid*., p. 195.

[16] W. D. Halls, "Culture and Education: The Culturalist Approach to Comparative Studies" in R. Edwards et. al., *Relevant Methods in Comparative Education*, Unesco Institute for Education, Hamburg, 1973, pp. 120 - 1.

[17] B. Holmes, in R. Edwards et. al., *op.cit*.

[18] R. Clignet, "Damned if You Do, Damned if You Don't: The Dilemmas of Colonizer-Colonized Relationships", *Comparative Education Review*, vol. 15, no. 3, 1971, pp. 298 - 312, especially pp. 307 - 11.

[19] See, for example A. Memmi in R. Clignet, op.cit.; A. Memmi, The Colonizer and the Colonized, Beacon Press, Boston, 1967; O. Mannoni, in M. Carnoy, Education as Cultural Imperialism, David McKay, New York, 1974; F. Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth, Penguin, Australia, 1978.

[20] P. G. Altbach and G. P. Kelly define "classical" colonialism in this way in Education and Colonialism, Longman, New York, 1978, p.1.

[21] ibid., p. 2.

[22] ibid., pp. 20 - 1.

[23] P. L. Van den Berghe, "Education, Class and Ethnicity in Southern Peru: Revolutionary Colonialism", in P. R. Altbach and G. P. Kelly, op.cit., pp. 270 - 295.

[24] C. H. Lyons, ibid., pp. 181 - 201.

[25] M. Carnoy, Education as Cultural Imperialism, David McKay, New York, 1974.

[26] Bronwyn Davies in Discrimination, Affirmative Action and Women Academics: A Case Study of the University of New England, relates the attitude of women in terms of direct unintended discrimination based on a perception of inferiority on the part of the male discriminator, University of New England, Armidale, 1982.

[27] See M. Carnoy, op.cit., especially Chapter 5 "Education as Internal Colonialism".

[28] "Ethnocentrism" can, however, be accepted as the name for a view of things in which one's own group is at the centre of everything and all others are scaled and rated in reference to it. (See V. Lanternari, "Ethnocentrism and Ideology", Ethnic and Racial Studies, vol. 3, no. 1, 1980, p. 54.

[29] ibid., pp. 56 ff.

[30] Blauner, in Jennifer Hurstfield, "Internal Colonialism: White, Black and Chicano Self-Conceptions", Ethnic and Racial Studies, vol. 1, no. 1 1978, p. 60.

[31] P. G. Altbach and G. P. Kelly, op.cit., pp. 21 - 2.

[32] ibid., particularly the nature of colonial education pp. 1 - 20.

[33] Jennifer Hurstfield, op.cit., p. 61.

[34] M. C. Hartwig, "Aborigines and Racism: An Historical Perspective" in F. S. Stevens (ed.) Racism: The Australian Experience, vol.2, Australia and New Zealand Book Co., Sydney, 1973, p. 18.

[35] Jennifer Hurstfield, op.cit.

[36] ibid., p. 77.

[37] B. M. Bullivant, "Education for a Polyethnic Society", Forum of Education, vol. 36, no. 2, 1977, p. 28.

[38] Naomi Rosh White, "Ethnicity, Culture and Cultural Pluralism", Ethnic and Racial Studies, vol. 1, no. 2, 1978.

[39] B. M. Bullivant, op.cit., p. 28.

[40] R. A. Schermehorn in Naomi Rosh White, op.cit., p. 150.

[41] F. Barth in Naomi Rosh White, op.cit., p. 151.

[42] J. Smolicz, "Core Values and Cultural Identity", Ethnic and Racial Studies, vol. 4, no. 1, 1981.

[43] F. Barth (ed.), Ethnic Groups and Boundaries, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1970, p. 11.

[44] M. Hechter, Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development 1536 - 1966, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1975, p. 39.

[45] M. Carnoy, in P. G. Altbach and G. P. Kelly, op.cit., p. 26.

[46] F. Barth (ed.), op.cit., p. 17.

[47] R. Francis, "A Lesson From the Third World", a paper presented at the Third World Congress of the World Council of Comparative Education Societies, University of London Institute of Education, June, 1977, p. 6.

[48] R. F. Lawson, "Free Form Comparative Education", Comparative Education Review, vol. 19, no. 2, 1975.

[49] ibid., p. 347.

[50] See C. A. Anderson, "Comparative Education Over a Quarter Century: Maturity and Challenges", Comparative Education Review, vol. 21, nos. 2 & 3, 1977, especially pp. 10 - 11.

[51] Vandra Masemann, "Anthropological Approaches to Comparative Education", Comparative Education Review, vol. 20, no. 3, 1976, p. 371.

[52] G.Z.F. Bereday, Comparative Method in Education, Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc., U.S.A., 1964, p. 23.

[53] B. Holmes, "The Problem Approach in Comparative Education: Some Methodological Considerations", Comparative Education Review, June, 1958, pp. 3 - 9.

[54] R. L. Hopkins, "Prescriptions for Cultural Revolutions: A Reassessment of the Limits of Comparative Education Research, Comparative Education Review, October 1973.

[55] T. Parsons, op.cit., pp. 56 - 64.

THE METHODOLOGY OF COMPARATIVE EDUCATION AND ITS CLARIFICATION AS A BASIS FOR ITS CONTRIBUTION TO THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF EDUCATION

DOUG WHITE

The study of Comparative Education began last century with a methodological confusion which it has retained throughout its development. A condition for its origin and development was and is the possibility of an at least partially detached approach to the study of education of other countries. The detachment is of intellectuals whose orientation is formed not only by knowledge of their own national culture, but also a wider orientation provided by a supranational intellectual culture. It is of course not possible to 'know' ones own culture without a standpoint outside it, that is without comparative knowledge. That same intellectual development in becoming the basis for schooling in an increasing number of nations becomes a source of the weakening of the national variation. I'm referring here to the modern notion of Comparative Education, not of 'traveller's tales'. A tale told by a traveller of mysterious schooling elsewhere is different from a theoretically-informed account, in that the traveller is likely to see things from the security and certainty of his or her own culture or background. The argument of this paper is that Comparative Education originated in the possibility of being both national and supranational, that this led to a methodological confusion in the unit of study and the concepts used in making the study, that a similar confusion now is becoming apparent in the theory and practice of education generally, and that the resolution of the confusion in the foundation and methodology of Comparative Education will assist in comparative work which will be directed to the resolution of a parallel confusion in educational theory and practice generally. I end the paper with a brief account of some comparative work which will illustrate the argument.

One of the founders of comparative method, speaking of the method generally rather than its use in Comparative Education, Emile Durkheim was well aware that comparison implied a universal frame of reference.

> One cannot explain a social fact of any complexity except by following its complete development through all social species. Comparative sociology is not a particular branch of sociology; it is sociology itself, in so far as it ceases to be purely descriptive and aspires to account for facts.[1]

Social facts were to be established from outside the reference and consciousness of a particular group. Durkheim, as far as I know, made no predictions that the method of sociology would become turned into a practice which would reduce the variability of societies. He does not seem to have had that kind of insight or vision into the new development of which he was part. Another nineteenth century writer, Karl Marx, saw the abolition of the variety of human society through the onward march of capitalism. In the prophetic words of Marx and Engels in the Manifesto of the Communist Party:

> The bourgeoisie has through its exploitation of the world market given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country. To the great chagrin of reactionaries, it has drawn from under the feet of industry the national ground on which it stood. All old established national industries have been destroyed or are daily being destroyed. They are dislodged by new industries, whose introduction becomes a life and death question for all civilized nations, by industries that no longer work up indigenous raw material, but raw material drawn from the remotest zones; industries whose products are consumed, not only at home, but in every quarter of the globe. In place of the old wants, satisfied by the production of the country, we find new wants, requiring for their satisfaction the products of distant lands and climes. In place of the old local and national seclusion and self-sufficiency, we have intercourse in every direction, universal inter-dependence of nations. And as in material, so also in intellectual production. The intellectual creations of individual nations become common property. National one-sidedness and narrow-mindedness become more and more impossible, and from the numerous national and local literatures there arises a world literature.[2]

The combination of the elements of the revolutionization of production under the bourgeoisie and the universalism of science and its technological offshoots are now widely recognized as the destroyer of local and national seclusion. Marshall McLuhan, in exaggerating a soundly made point, called it the global village.

There are, as readers of this paper know, many modern comparativists who methodologically obliterate the nation. For example Przeworski and Teune believe that it is the goal of social science to replace proper names with variables. They write:

> Although particular social systems do influence the nature of observed relationships and do yield a gain in prediction, it will be argued here that, if some additional assumptions are accepted, proper names can be replaced by variables in the course of comparative research.[3]

For example, the state of education in India should be related to a factor which is not seen as peculiar to India, but to the level of modernization or some other universally applicable variable.

One stream of writing in Comparative Education has taken up the idea of the universality of educational principles. Another stream has, in practice, not accepted this and presumed a national determination of education. The often quoted words of Michael Sadler provide a thoughtful illustration of this other stream.

> In studying foreign systems of education we should not forget that the things outside the school matter even more than the things inside the schools, and govern and interpret the things inside...A national system of education is a living thing, the outcome of forgotten struggles and difficulties and of battles long ago...The practical value of studying in the right spirit and with scholarly accuracy the working of foreign systems of education is that it will result in our being better fitted to study and understand our own.[4]

That line of thinking goes further with Kandel, and more recently Mallinson. 'Every educational system reflects the character of the society which it is established to serve', Kandel wrote in 1959.[5] Mallinson says that the student of Comparative Education must be primarily 'a cultural historian noting the way of life of a people and seeking knowledge of their aspirations through their philosophical attitudes, their modes of thought, their religious and political awareness'.[6] To all of this it might be said that national character or cultural essence do not seem to have much to do with the greater part of the content of education. Physics is physics, whether taught in the context of the German or the Australian battles of long ago.

Perhaps this is why few theorists of Comparative Education argue for context-determination of education nowadays. The methodological assumption still persists, in a bland form, in the most common books produced within Comparative Education - the monographs of school and society in various nations.

I have been arguing that one methodological assumption in education places the nation as the determinant of educational practice. The other regards the nation as the unit in which educational values, which have a more universal validity, are delivered. Matthew Arnold, who was concerned with what he regarded as universal cultural values judged systems of education by their effectiveness in bringing these to the people, or at least to the middle-class. (in A French Eton, for example). For all the differences between his 'culturalist' (to use a modern term) approach and that of the stony-headed technocrats who used a few years ago to fill so many of the pages of the Comparative Education Review on the relation between education and the gross national product, they are alike in their views of the nation as being the unit of educational variation, not the unit of educational determination.

The problem of the relationship of group life and culture, often but certainly not always expressed in national form, to the more general and abstract bases of the content of much of the curriculum in schools the world over - a problem which is scarcely addressed in the hundreds of articles on methodology written by scholars of Comparative Education - is also a problem in the theory and practice of education generally. It isn't appropriate here to attempt to argue for a particular way of characterizing the qualities of a theory and practice of education. I shall assert them, and hope that they seem right to the intuitions and experience of the reader. Educational theory and practice is concerned with two elements: one is the socialization of young people into a set of group, perhaps national, norms and practices; the other is universalization, the induction of young people into a world of meanings which give justification and legitimation to that society and the person's place in it. Universalization once had a religious and mythical content, more recently an historical and literary content - in both cases one could say that the determination of the direction of education was local or national. That is not so clearly the case any more. Universalization comes through supra-nationally held knowledge, and universally engaged practices; in particular the knowledge of science and related subject matter, and the practices of technology, particularly the electronic media, and the practice of universal commodity interchange. Group meanings and group life become relatively insignificant. This change is often celebrated, for example by libertarian critics of social reproduction through education; it is also often lamented, for example by those who see control over the direction of everyday life passing into the hands of transnational corporations.

For the purposes of this argument I want to draw attention to only a couple of points. The decline of the group, or nation, as a determiner of education and the directing influence in social life generally has meant that what is often regarded as a defining element of education - the placing of young people in a tradition which gives social and moral meaning to life - is in decline. Even the reformation of that society in terms of employment for young people becomes difficult. The disjunction between an actual social life, and its relations with the rest of the world, is a major cause of social and educational disorder.

For Comparative Education, it follows:

1. The nation as the unit of study is less significant. The attempt to add to Comparative Education the term 'international' is no solution, for international only makes sense when there are relatively equal and independent units to form the relations of equality implied by the term.

2. The idea of the nation as the unit of variation, implied within one stream of comparative work in education, has become a means by which national education has been destroyed (a minor crime, except morally, since no one would say that comparative educationists have been very effective; although no doubt studies like those of the I.E.A. have done their ideological bit to establish the idea of one goal, many delivery systems).

On the other hand, the long-existing confusion as to what Comparative Education is really doing - whether studying the different modes by which education is determined, or taking its part in working towards the destruction of the determination of education by local traditions and forms - could become a strength. For this to happen we need to formulate a major problem in education, something like this: The task of the educator is to educate the people so that they may be able to establish control and direction of the social life of their community; and to do so they must draw upon the sources of knowledge, and take steps to renew these sources, which are of a universal kind. To put this in social-relational terms, to enhance the knowledge and reflection upon the form of the relations between members of groups, which may be national; and of the necessary relations between the group and those beyond their boundaries which will enable that group to enhance and develop its own life.[7] The aspect of this problem and project which it is appropriate for Comparative Education to take up is, what studies can be made which will throw light on the relation between national determination and the interchange between the nations?; and, what new light can a comparative approach throw upon the issues?

In the past year or so I have been talking to a group of people who have addressed this problem without benefit of Comparative Education or in fact any formally expressed educational theory. In Alice Springs the original inhabitants, people who call themselves the Mparnte, have established a school, Yipirinya. The name of the school is that of the dreamtime caterpillar which when the world was shaped travelled the country forming the landscape and whose spirit lives on in the people. In the years of white occupation the people have been moved from point to point, the people have learnt English as well as retaining their own language, have been taught Christianity as well as retaining their old beliefs, and come to use the economy of the invaders as well as retained the relationships of distribution of material goods held from ancient times. In recent years the people have returned to Alice Springs from the various missions and government camps in which they were once mustered. Their purpose in establishing the school is clearly stated. They call it a two-way school. 'The children must learn to read and write Aboriginal way, white man's way. We tell the teachers they must teach ways.' The school is therefore bilingual, and while maintaining and reproducing their own culture includes a study of European culture. The comparative study is necessary to the curriculum, as it is to the existence of the people, and allows the changes in the Aboriginal way of life to be understood, to a degree consciously controlled. As one Aboriginal teacher at the school has said 'At Yipirinya the people come to respect each other. We teachers as well as the children, learn from the old people who know our tribal ways best. The old people learn to respect the younger adults, who know European ways best. The children learn from both.'

Yipirinya school has been consistently refused registration by the government of the Northern Territory. Hence it is, strictly, illegal; more to the point, it receives none of the funds which flow to conventional private schools run by the Catholic church and others. Its teachers both white and black are poorly paid, and money is short for facilities. This is not because the N.T. government is opposed to bilingual education; it has many schools which offer bilingual programmes. In terms of Comparative Education the N.T. government believes in a variety of methods of delivering the one set of educational values. At the same time it follows a policy of opposition to a group of people seeking to maintain a form of culture and group life, even though this groups seeks an equal relationship with other groups in Australia.

Much more can be said about Yipirinya, both in itself and as a lesson for educators. My purpose here is to draw attention to an issue for Comparative Education, that those who work in it could greatly assist in the understanding of a problem and the development of processes to its resolution - the problem of the determination of a direction to schooling by groups, and the relationship of those groups to one another.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Emile Durkheim, The Rules of Sociological Method, New York, The Free Press, 1964, p.139.

2. K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Manifesto of the Community Party', quoted here from Schlomo Awineri (ed.) Karl Marx on Colonialism and Modernization, New York, Doubleday Anchor, 1969, p.36.

3. Adam Przeworski and Henry Teune, The Logic of Comparative Social Inquiry, New York, Wiley, 1970, p.10.

4. Michael E. Sadler, 'How Far Can We Learn Anything of Practical Value from the Study of Foreign Systems of Education?', Comparative Education Review, 7, 1963, p.308.

5. I.L. Kandel, 'The Methodology of Comparative Education', International Review of Education, 5, 1959, p.270.

6. Vernon Mallinson, An Introduction to the Study of Comparative Education, London, Heinemann, 1975, p.273.

7. I have tried to work this out briefly in the economic terms of protection and free trade in a short article 'Protection, the Nation and New Forms of Material Production' in Arena 62, pp.1-5.

EDUCATIONAL COMPARISONS AND THE EDUCATOR

KEITH SIMKIN

This paper examines some of the ways in which educational comparisons might be used by the educational practitioner, and how the practitioner can contribute to a dialogue with comparativists.[1]

The context of this exploration is the widely held opinion that there is a gap between comparative educational study as we know it today and the theory and practice of education. If there are to be productive links between comparative education as a recognized area of research and the practices that characterize our educational institutions, several aspects of the current situation would need to change. Professional comparativists would need to demonstrate the kinds of comparisons they could make and their relevance, if any, to the theory and practice of education. Secondly, researchers and practitioners would need to develop a mutually comprehensible language to explore the potential of available concepts and research methods to provide knowledge that would be translatable into real situations in schools. Thirdly, practitioners would need to indicate the nature and context of their practical concerns in such a way that it could be determined whether, and how, comparative study would be appropriate and relevant.

Both groups would need to be a good deal more frank than they are now about their attitudes to two issues. Should comparative research be relevant to educational theory and practice? Can it be relevant?

EDUCATIONAL PRACTITIONERS AND COMPARATIVE EDUCATIONAL STUDIES

The educational practitioner has a number of strands in institutionalized comparative education to turn to for possible guidance.

At the broadest conceptual levels comparative education, especially in the United States, has been dominated by that syndrome of perceptives we now label as "modernization theories". These have been challenged by an equally heterogenous set of viewpoints given the general title of "dependency theories". Both perspectives are not fundamentally concerned wtih education but comparativists have employed them to locate educational ideologies and practices in the context of explanations of the unequal distribution of power, wealth and knowledge within and between nations.[2]

Still at the aggregate level but with theoretical interests more closely focussed on education are those studies that replace the countries or regions of traditional comparative study by quantified "variables". These studies build upon computerized data banks and multivariate analytic techniques to test empirically a range of competing hypothesis about the antecedents and consequences of selected educational phenomena usually concerned with structure rather than process or content.[3]

One of the oldest traditions in comparative education is the case study of one or more national systems or sub-units of education. The best of them have aimed at comparisons that generate analytical categories, test hypotheses, focus on similarities as well as differences and lead the reader into the area of theoretical and policy implications.

The newer phenomenological approaches of the 1970's have employed social science concepts in attempts to compare two or more educational situations to derive low or middle level hypotheses. These approaches have tended to avoid the limitations of the nation or sub-national unit as the basis of comparison and "national character" as the explanatory vehicle. They have tended to focus upon the rich variety of human relationships and the central importance of perception and culture in educational situations, in contrast to macro level analyses that focus on structure and measurable inputs and outcomes.[4]

At the lower end of conceptual generalizability are those comparisons of the type whereby data from overseas or out of town are referred to in the course of trying to come to grips with a local educational situation. This is the sense in which philosophers, historians or sociologists say, "We are all comparativists", which is true, but simplistic. These comparisons are usually made to take from other situations those that appear to be relevant to ours, rather than being made for the purposes of systematically comparing the various situations to establish an hypothesis about similarities and differences. At a broad level it is called "uncritical cultural borrowing" or "imperialism". At the level with which we are most familiar it is called "surveying the literature".

It is probably true that there are some connections between each one of these strands in comparative education and the type of knowledge that each can make available to the educational practitioner. In the negative sense there is a connection between each approach and the limits it places on the practitioner's ability to obtain relevant information. Many case studies, for example, by adhering to national boundaries and praticularistic explanations, are little more than entertainment value. Many aggregate studies, complete with path analysis diagrams (with unexplained variance at a level of .99) seem designed only for obfuscation.

Despite the variety of theories, content and methodological techniques made available by each of these strands of comparative educational study, the practitioner in thelong run can really only use comparisons in three basic or underlying ways. I am basing this argument heavily on the article by Doug White, in Compare, 1978, entitled "Comparisons and Cognitive Process, and the Conceptual Framework of the Comparativist".[5]

As summarised by White, these three uses are:

> ... first, to note possible regularities for further comparison; second, to test out ideas, as in a version of the controlled experiment of the natural sciences; or third, to stimulate the imagination and broaden the experience of the researcher and his readers.[6]

The first of these uses of comparison is the one so strongly advocated in the traditional texts on the theory of comparative education, and exemplified in the better of the historically or phenomenologically oriented case or problem studies. Generalizations can be derived from comparisons, but the most sensitive use of comparative educational study is the refinement of analytic categories and general statements to the point where educationally relevant knowledge is obtained.

The second use of comparison is that popularized by positivists such as Przeworski and Teune, and Holt and Turner.[7] In the long run the practitioner usually derives from this kind of comparative study the knowledge that either certain hypothesized relationships between input, structural and output variables do not occur in reality; or that they do, but not in such a manner that they contribute to the formulation of policy or practice in immediate situations.

The third use of comparison is the sensitization of the researcher and the reader to the problematic nature of those aspects of his culture that would otherwise be taken for granted. Partly this is accomplished through the development of empathy (and sympathy?) by exposure to alternative solutions adopted in different countries to common human problems. Partly, according to many theorists, it is accomplished through the search for patterns of relationships between educational and other phenomena that can only be perceived when one stands back from one's own culture and views it as objectively as possible in relation to others. Comparativists in the United States who disagree on issues of theory and methodology seem to be able to agree on the centrality of this use of comparison.[8]

As one of the few comparativists in Australasia who has expressed an opinion on this question in print, Doug White came to this conclusion:

> The first of these [uses] is possible, if one accepts that patterns and regularities are seen by the observer, or by interaction between him and his subject matter, in which case the first use becomes rather like the third. The seond is of doubtful validity ... the best that can be hoped for is that the usefulness or range of the categories can be considered. The third of these possible uses includes elements of the first and second uses ... It can ... give insight and understanding to the researcher and to the reader. In this sense, comparison develops or enhances the culture of those who take part in comparative Education.[9]

If one accepts White's argument (which I do) it follows that the major use that the practitioner can make of comparative educational research, whatever strand he chooses, is as a source of sensitization to the characteristics of his own situation and to the potential types of the solutions available. He can also use the content and the methodologies of comparative educational research to familiarize himself with how these potential solutions can be evaluated in theoretical and practical senses.

In order to accomplish these tasks the practitioner needs to have access to a language of concepts and methodology that makes sense both to him and to professional comparativists. There are several major problems here; comparativists too often don't ask the questions that practitioners want answers to. Comparativists often ask questions that practitioners have never dreamed of thinking about. Even when comparative research is relevant to practitioners it is often presented in such a way that it is not easily interpretable, either because of jargon, or statistical oversophistication or excessive particularity or generality. The level of generalization at which comparativists work is often commented upon as a major problem for practitioners, but it is difficult to arrive at a reasoned judgment as to whether or not the gap between academic researcher and educational practice is greater in comparative appraoches to education than in other intellectually organized approaches.

These problems in communication are not intrinsically or necessarily involved in the relationship between institutionalized comparative research and educational practice. They could be minimized quite simply by the adoption of a different set of assumptions about the relationship between the two areas of educational endeavour. Consider for example, this statement by Cole Brembeck, in an article in the Comparative Education Review in 1975, entitled "The Future of Comparative and International Education".

> I believe that a discipline which is seriously concerned with knowledge-building honours the practitioner. It develops fine mechanisms for learning from him. Similarly, the scholar seeks out the practitioner, listens to him, and finds ways to study what he knows and to distill from it new increments of fundamental knowledge.[10]

That opinion is, I believe, a sound one. Quite obviously, however, it is not shared by many professional comparativists, since published research in the professional journals indicates that the problems of practitions are not an over-riding influence on the selection or orientation of research in comparative education.

It has been argued so far that the practioner must know what purposes can be served by educational comparisons and where in comparative research this material is available. But equally, as Brembeck reminds us, the comparativist ought to be able and willing to listen to the questions being askdd by the practitioner. To facilitate this communication the practitioner ought to be able to analyze his situation in such a way that would clarify the type of comparison that could be relevant and fruitful.

How can the practitioner contribute to the clarification of issues relevant to educational theory and practice in such a way as to attract the attention of the comparativist?

It is obviously impossible to attempt general answers to these questions, since the needs and concerns of practitioners at different levels and in different areas of education will vary greatly. For illustrative purposes, however, I will use the example of the situation of the practitioner in relation to the area of multicultural education, an area of importance and controversy not only on both sides of the Tasman but in many areas of the world.

COMPARISONS AND MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

The 1970's saw an enormous growth in the demand for multicultural education. In the Australian case, a great deal of the pressure for multicultural education was based upon several different uses of comparisons.

Internal comparisons highlighted the differences between the educational attainments of children from different ethnic backgrounds. The systematic documentation of these differences by independent researchers and by government agencies such as the Commonwealth Schools Commission came at about the same time as the recognition by State and Federal governments of the need to devise policies that addressed (or appeared to) the problems associated with minority ethnic status.[11]

Minority groups themselves were able to make their voices heard about their unequal treatment in the areas of education, health care, legal rights, working conditions and political under-representation in a predominantly Anglo-Celtic society. Their comparisons were based not only upon their relative oppression but also with reference to absolute ideals based upon natural justice and United Nations declarations of human rights, in particular the right of citizens to have access to their own cultural heritage. These comparisons led inexorably to demands for compulsory multicultural education programs encompassing teaching English as a Second Language (TESL), community languages, bilingual instruction, intercultural perspectives across the curriculum and public support for ethnic schools.

External comparisons with policies being adopted in countries such as the United States, Canada, New Zealand, Israel and the United Kingdom led to numerous suggestions about the development of similar or modified programs in Australia. These types of comparisons were largely oriented to selective cultural borrowing, although a few attempts were made to develop holistic paradigms and theoretical constructs that could place the Australian situation in a comparative perspective.[12]

In this emotionally charged and politically treacherous area of social policy it is not surprising that many of the comparisons employed have been used to support this or that strongly felt viewpoint. In consequence, the rhetoric that came to surround the concept of multiculturalism and the political aerobatics displayed in the rush to control strong ethnic group pressures have obscured some basic problems faced by educational practitioners who are being asked to provide programs suitable for a multicultural society.

For example, many of the special interest group pressures are contradictory and in themselves are not necessarily oriented to the achievement of social harmony and tolerance implicit in the broad rubric of multicultural policy. Emphasis on any one of TESL, a specific community language, bilingual education or intercultural studies in a school might benefit only one (or a few of many) cultural group(s) at the expense of others. To make all areas available or compulsory without reducing the time spent in other curriculum areas is extremely difficult, if not impossible, and leads directly into the politics of what kind of educational priorities should be adopted in a period of economic depression and high youth unemployment.

Comparisons, either internal or external, that have as their ideological foundation the absolute necessity for compulsory multicultural education, can often be counterproductive. In teacher education, for example, the advocates of compulsion would have all trainee teachers study TESL, a community language, issues in bilingual education, the processes of language acquisition and intercultural studies, and gain practical experience in ethnically diverse schools. In contrast, many trainee teachers would feel antagonistic at the thought of embarking upon such a program, particularly if these activities were to be pursued at the expense of employment related skill acquisition. Many teacher educators would feel that such a program violated some important pedagogical principles and ignored the reality of how trainee teachers became socialized into their profession.

Schools and teacher education institutions in Australia have been strongly criticized for their indequate responses to the needs of ethnic minorities, and have been urged to adopt pluralistic programs based, in many cases, on overseas models.[13] Most of the criticisms are valid. However, State and Federal governments that have accepted and tabled official reports critical of past and current educational responses to ethnic diversity have simultaneously been pursuing policies that have led to savage cuts in financial and personnel resources available to schools and teacher training institutions. Comparisons that lay the blame on schools concentrate on only one link in a long chain and have the effect of helping to keep ethnic minorities in their oppressed position as long as the criticisms are deflected from their proper targets. They also tend to put educational practitioners on the defensive and inhibit their likelihood of using the comparative data to stand back a little and try to make policy judgments in a more objective manner.

To summarise, the Australian experience seems to have been one in which several different types of comparisons have been made in the area of multicultural education, for purposes and reasons that are highly understandable, but which have not contributed much towards their professed aims. An argument could be made for the use of comparisons that would enable some sort of "distancing" to occur, so that an assessment could be made of the relative merits and viability of different types of policies and programs.[14]

In pursuit of this aim, what kinds of questions could practitioners, amongst others, ask that could provide guidelines for fruitful comparative studies in the multicultural area? What bases could be developed for a mutually comprehensible language of analysis and discussion among practitioners and comparativists (and possibly even politicians and minority ethnic group spokespeople)?

Obvious questions to start with would be: what is the range of acceptable multicultural policies in Australia, and how could they best be translated into viable programs at the school level? This focus would involve directing the comparisons towards classification and categorization with the aim of selecting the most relevant politically and socially viable policies from overseas and local experience.

A number of people, such as Holenbergh Young, Mills and Bullivant, have already asked these questions and have provided us with different sorts of guidelines as to how educational policies and programs could be located within typologies of social and political philosophies that are amenable to international comparisons.[15]

Another area of rapproachement is the simple but neglected task of monitoring the fate of multicultural programs at local levels and comparing their history with relevant interstate or overseas examples. This involves to some extent an ability to work within the neo-positivist framework of people like Przeworski and Teune, since structural elements of each situation must be abstracted and translated into categories amenable to "culture free" (at least temporarily, for analytic purposes) international or intersystemic comparisons. In most cases, however, productive comparisons could be achieved within the ambit of the case study method, especially since the fate of particular programs seems to be bound up more with the interpersonal relations of the people involved than with abstract structural properties.

The ideal core for a dialogue between practitioners and comparativists would seem to be the comparative study of multicultural pressure groups and their interplay with host society institutions, ranging down from governments to schools and parent associations. Practitioners are in a position to indicate the dimensions of these power plays quite clearly from experience, and comparativists now have at their command an array of concepts and methodological approaches that have already proven fruitful in the analysis of the politics of multiculturalism.

It is not surprising that educational practitioners have not been able to identify key questions or receive clear guidelines about multicultural educators from governments, education departments, academic researchers or ethnic pressure groups. Multicultural education is firstly a question of politics and social morality, and only secondly a question of pedagogy. The reality in which most practitioners probably operate is one characterized by too little guidance, too few resources and too little freedom to make and implement effective policies. It is difficult for the practitioner to achieve much of lasting value in this circumscribed situation, especially if subjected to strong pressure to adopt this or that policy because it is politically advisable.

Given the reality of the practitioner's situation does it matter very much whether or not comparativists address themselves to the sort of policy-relevant issues outlined above or whether they continue to publish their esoteric articles in the professional journals, neglecting the needs of the practitioner seeking some more objective knowledge base on which to base decisions?

It does matter to the practitioner whether or not he continues to base his policies and programs on locally oriented, special interest and emotionally loaded comparisons, or whether he can articulate his concerns in such a way that academic research can be used to devise constructive solutions to his problems. Despite the very real constraints on the practitioner it is possible to bridge the gap between the classroom and institutionalized comparative educational research. I will try to illustrate how this can be done by reference to a specific school situation in the area of multicultural education.

COMPARISONS AND THE MULTICULTURAL SCHOOL

A nice example of the practitioner reflecting on the constraints of everyday school situations and the application of comparative analysis to them is provided in a recent chapter written by an Australian teacher, Bill Hannan, in a book with the title Teacher Learning.[16] Hannan's chapter is titled "The multicultural school - or schools in search of their own culture". His main argument is that multiculturalism should be treated as:

> ... an issue for the whole school and the whole curriculum. Clearly the concept implies some special approaches to language and some deliberate provision for teaching of minority cultures, but

> the main drive should come from a view of culture that permeates the entire curriculum and touches every child. ... A Multicultural curriculum, in brief, rests on the foundtion of a sound definition of general culture ...
>
> A less ambitious way to express the point is to say that the general curriculum needs to be revised so that it is democratic, pluralistic and free from bias.[17]

In the chapter Hannan illustrates how this approach can be translated into curricula for schools, particularly in working class inner suburban areas of high migrant density. In doing so he provides an example of an practitioner using comparative educational data to inform his classroom procedures, and doing so in a way that provides a basis for a dialogue with comparativists to try to answer the questions he raises.

Some of Hannan's comparisons are of a type familiar enough to the student of orthodox comparative education. His use of these comparisons is, however, refreshing. For example he compares the multiculturalism demanded in Wales, the Basque countires and Quebec to establish the most important constraints on policy that need to be considered in the Australian situation.[18] In his analysis of some curriculum material from Italy, he does advocate selective cultural borrowing, but for the purpose of seeing things from an Italian viewpoint. In doing so he opens up the possibility of children from different cultures studying the same topic from their cultural perspective, not via the host culture's interpretation of these viewpoints. In one sweep he has overturned conventional approaches to the use of comparative material in the multicultural area.[19]

Other types of comparisons made by Hannan are not so frequently encountered in institutionalized comparative education.

Early in the chapter Hannan advances a general proposition in order to focus his inquiry into the proper nature of multiculturalism in the school.

> In English-speaking countries the classic way up for immigrant minority groups has been to assimilate. Only those who have learnt to merge their identity with the majority culture have been accepted.[20]

Hannan doesn't provide evidence for this proposition. He is more concerned with the dilemma presented to the educational practitioner if it is true that minority ethnic identity and social mobility are parts of a zero-sum equation.

Hannan's analysis of comparative research on the relationships between language, identity and social class leads him to question what he describes as "a primary tenet of multiculturalism, namely that everyone should have a good command of the common language of the dominant culture".[21] He questions the myth that a command of standard English is accompanied by social mobility, or is a prerequisite for it. He suggests that building constructively on students' home dialects (English and non-English varieties) and using them as the vehicle to make the translation to standard English if and when necessary, is pedagogically sounder and socially more equitable than a rigid instance on standard English from the infant grades. Attempts to stamp out dialects are based on a policy of assimilation. In any case they are futile.

This type of comparison is aimed at peeling back the layers of taken for granted assumptions in an attempt to show their relationship to broad social policies and to clarify the social and political implications of various educational options. It is the verbal analogue of the type of paradigm developed by Holenbergh Young to map out the political contexts of various multicultural policies in education and society.[22]

A related technique is employed in his analysis of the arguments for and against different types of bilingual education. These arguments are rather heated, and range over areas such as natural rights, the maintenance of ethnic cultures, cognitive development and the relevance of comparisons with overseas bilingual programs.[23] Hannan concludes quite frankly that cultural borrowing in this area would be inadvisable at present. "Bilingual schooling on any scale scarcely exists in the conditions we are concerned with, and where it does the number of variables makes tight research impossible".[24] He goes on, however, to analyse language policies in several countries to show that the politics of bilingual education is often more important than the educational evidence about the relationship of bilingual instruction to children's cognitive and linguistic development.

> The fact that so much of our thinking about using ethnic languages in school is dogged by worries about how the kids will get on in English tells us a lot about the status of English- and non-English speakers and next to nothing about human learning. The English-speaking world suffers from glossophobia - a state of believing that a second language, like alcohol, can be tolerated by the upper classes but does more harm than good to the lower orders.[25]

Hannan's argument is favour of several strategies of bilingual education ties up the strands of personal and group identity and the possibility of enhancing both without prejudicing the opportunities for social mobility of working class immigrant adolescents. He concludes that "*politically* bilingual schooling is eminently justifiable, and educationally it still looks a reasonable bet".[26] This is a nicc example of the use of comparison to distance oneself from one's own culture to try to look at the policy options as dispassionately as is possible.

One pecularity in Hannan's chapter is that the author freely admits to asking more questions than he can answer. These questions would make a good basis for a provocative research course in the comparative study of educational policy and practice. The examplcs given here are at the macro level, but are, as Hannan's own analysis demonstrates, readily applicable to the individual school.

Hannan's starting point is: how can schools in working class migrant areas reduce the gap between the attainments of their students in other schools? He proposes three hypotheses. One way would be to increase resources and improve efficiency. Another would be to change the school system. A third would be to orient the whole school around a democratic, pluralistic and umbiased multicultural curriculum. The fact that Hannan argues in favour of the third hypothesis is not important in this context. What is instructive is the way he conceptualized the issue in such a way as provide a basis for a comparative research program oriented to policy analysis.

A second set of concerns lies in the acceptability of bilingualism in some countries and situations, but not in others. What are the political and cultural contexts of these situations, and what constraints do they place upon the permissible functions and programs of schools? Hannan asks these questions in a cross-national context, but in the Australian situation the research could be conducted within any larger city.

Another set of concerns reaches into areas hardly ever mentioned in Australian analyses of multicultural education. For example, writing about Soula, an imaginary Greek girl who arrives at primary school with no English whatsoever:

> To respect Soula's home language by providing bilingual programmes is a major rapprochement of the school to Soula's community. Who knows where it could lead? Not, I suspect, to Soula's immediate translation to the great wide world of educational opportunity? More likely to a greater solidarity and understanding between school and community. The question then becomes, solidarity for what? For the right of the whole community to education in English and Greek? To the civil right to use Greek without being molested or subtly discriminated against? For employment rights in Greek?[27]

Hannan takes off from a basis of conventional uses of comparative research into critiques of taken for granted categories in his own culture. In doing so he generates questions, hypotheses and generalisations that are stimulating, provocative and potentially amenable to comparative research. Indeed it is hard to imagine how his questions could be answered without comparative research. His work seems to me to be an example of how a mutually intelligible dialogue could be constructed on the basis of a practitioner's indication of the nature of his concerns.

One of the keys to Hannan's refreshing approach to comparative educational analysis is his development of a philosophy of the uses of comparison.

> Relevance comes from comparison and contrast. Some subjects are probably too close to home and too sensitive to approach directly. Youth culture

> comes to mind. So does the family. And sex-roles. Their very centrality makes them hard to approach directly in a critical way. The same may well be true of some ethnic themes. The hot ones, and there are plenty of them, have to be handled from a cool distance. The aim, after all, is not to resolve old conflicts with simplistic analyses but to equip people first of all to look at culture and society critically.[28]

That last sentence is, in my opinion, the kind of reminder that is appropriate both to practitioners and to comparativists.

FOOTNOTES

1. The term "practitioner" is used in its widest sense, from the classroom teacher to the school principal or senior administrator, to refer to people whose main concern is with the operation of educational systems and institutions.

2. For a summary of the relationship of these theories to comparative educational research, see M. Armer, 'Education and social change: an examination of the modernity thesis", Studies in Comparative and International Development vol.12, no.3, 1977, pp.100-126, and M. McLean, "Educational dependency: a critique", Compare, vol.13, no.1, 1983, pp.25-42.

3. The philosophy of these positivist approaches is set out in A. Przeworski and H. Teune, The Logic of Comparative Social Enquiry, New York, Wiley, 1970.

4. See the special issue of the Comparative Education Review, vol.21, nos. 2-3, 1977 for an overview of these approaches.

5. Compare, vol.14, no.2, June 1978, pp.93-108.

6. Loc.cit., p.105.

7. Przeworski and Teune, op.cit. R. Holt and J. Turner (eds.), The Methodology of Comparative Research, New York, Free Press, 1970.

8. See, for example, the series of articles devoted to the importance of comparative educational studies for teachers in the Comparative Educational Review, v-1.19, no.3, October 1975, pp.354-368.

9. White, loc.cit., pp.104-6. For the complete context of the quotation the complete article should be read, since White addresses an argument in favour of the third use of comparison that is closely tied to an argument about cognitive processes in learning.

10. For a summary of these trends see J. Martin, The Migrant Presence, Sydney, George Allen and Unwin, 1978, Chs. 3 and 4, and L. Foster, "The politics of educational knowledge: from migrant to multicultural education?", in R.K. Browne and L.E. Foster (eds.), Sociology of Education, Melbourne, Methuen, 3rd edition, 1976, pp. 424-439.

11. Martin, op.cit., Foster, loc.cit.; Ethnic Affairs Commission of New South Wales, Participation, Report to the Premier, Sydney, Government Printer, 1978; M. Garner (ed.), Community Languages, Melbourne, River Seine Publications, 1980.

12. See, for example, B.M. Bullivant, The Pluralist Dilemma in Education, Sydney, George Allen and Unwin, 1981; J.J. Smolicz, Culture and Education in a Plural Society, Canberra, Curriculum Development Centre, 1979. R. Holenbergh Young, "Ethnic identity and education", in P. de Lacey and M. Poole, Mosaic or Melting Pot. Cultural Evolution in Australia, Sydney, Harcourt, Brace Jovanovic, 1979, pp.343-365.

13. For example, F. Galbally (Chairman), Migrant Services and Programs. Report of the Review of Post-Arrival Programs and Services for Migrants, Canberra, AGPS, 1978; J. Auchmuty (Chairman), Report of the National Inquiry into Teacher Education, Canberra, AGPS, 1980; Committee on Multicultural Education, Education for a Multicultural Society, Report to the Schools Commission, Canberra, 1979.

14. Note, in this respect, the work already done by several government agencies, e.g., Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs, Review of Multicultural and Migrant Education, AIMA, Melbourne, 1980; J. Mills, Bilingual Education and Australian Schools, Australian Education Review, no.18, ACER, Melbourne, 1982.

15. Holenbergh Young, loc.cit.; Mills, op.cit.; Bullivant, op.cit.

16. Bill Hannan, "The Multicultural school - or schools in search of their own culture", in G. Dow (ed.), Teacher Learning, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982, pp.79-110.

17. Ibid., p.85.

18. Ibid., p.81.

19. Ibid., p.90.

20. Ibid., p.84.

21. Ibid., p.99.

22. Loc.cit.

23. For a summary, see Mills, op.cit., Ch.s1-3.

24. Hannan, loc.cit., p.102-3.

25. Ibid., p.103.

26. Ibid., p.103.

27. Ibid., pp.104-5.

28. Ibid., p.91.

THE FUNCTIONALIST TRADITION AND COMPARATIVE EDUCATION

ANTHONY R. WELCH

This paper attempts to articulate some of the basic theoretical assumptions underlying functionalism, by viewing some of the major historical chapters in the development of modern functionalist theory, and also by placing the theory in a longer historical perspective. Historical continuities are argued, not only between Durkheim and Parsons, but between Durkheim and important intellectual forbears. The common assumptions derived from the study of functionalism are then applied to a consideration of exemplars of educational research in the field of modernization theory, in an attempt to explain the direction given by the adoption of functionalist tenets. The paper includes a critique of some overt and covert assumptions of functionalist educational research and suggest some avenues for more reasonable forms of research.

The structural-functional school have provided one of the most important logics of research in the twentieth century, and their influence on research in the social sciences, including education, has been profound. Although the locus classicus for modern functionalism is generally taken to be the work of Talcott Parsons, in particular his detailed arguments on action, the starting point for twentieth century functionalism is the work of Emile Durkheim, whose reworking of St. Simonian and Comteian themes into a new set of prescriptions for scientific social research proved to be a fountainhead for modern functionalist theory. In Durkheim's work we witness a more contemporary example of the hallowed positivist quest of the creation of a 'natural science of society';[1] indeed Durkheim acknowledged Comte, Montesquieu and Condorcet as founders of a prescientific positivism. His method however is more reminiscent of Bacon in stressing the development of knowledge through accretion; the establishment of social laws not different in kind from those in the natural sciences, by inductive generalizations from collections of facts. Sociology, then, like other sciences was progressive - advancing slowly if remorselessly towards the establishment of objective principles - and it might, under the beneficent influence of large-scale inductivist empirical methods, even prove possible to establish the authenticity of Comte's law of the three stages, given sufficient resources.[2] Other connections between Comte and Durkheim include a bifurcation into statics (functional explanation) and dynamics (historical explanation) and a reliance upon a biological analogy to establish sociology, although of course these concepts were common to much nineteenth century social thought, as for example with Spencer's work. But in Durkheim's claim that a social science could separate the normal from the pathological in society, and in his opposition to (pathological) revolutionary social change, he depended upon the Comteian-style scientifically based postulate that all progressive change was incremental, cumulative. Revolution was a symptom of a failure to achieve or maintain progressive social change: Durkheim's solidarity was Comte's consensus.

Durkheim's programme has been expressed in terms of three major, linked goals: to establish sociology as a strict science; to articulate the basis for the unity of the social sciences; and to provide the basis for social integration ("modern society's civil religion" [3]), in the best traditions of St. Simon and Comte:

> "The French sociological tradition begun by St. Simon, followed by Comte, ... and Durkheim has a common denominator in its repugnence of political upheavals, of group struggles for power, of chicanery and civil strife; the tradition, in contra-distinction to Marxist sociology, is to make sociology a healing and stablizing science, one that will find a viable basis for restoring social consensus, and for enhancing societal integration." [4]

The centre of this sociological confection was of course a sedative morality; its genealogy can be directly traced back to St. Simon's late vision of a "New Christianity" or Comte's later religious manifestations of positivism, both concerned (as was Durkheim) with replacing the inherent conservatism of the Catholic religion with a more progressive alternative. A new "civil religion" wholly in accord with natural science, and which would provide a solid foundation for a new science of mankind, a new (positive) moral world-order, was to be the result. Durkheim's 'social facts' were, for him, moral phenomena, and moral concepts were at the basis of directed action. It was the morality of the social world which was its major distinguishing feature, marking it out from the world of nature. This helps clarify the other sense in which Durkheim was an heir to the positivist traditions of St. Simon and Comte: sociology was to be positive, in the Comteian sense of being constructive and organic, not critical and revolutionary as with the Enlightenment philosophes.[5]

Talcott Parsons' debt to Durkheim is both explicit and acknowledged, as for example in the latter's monumental Structure of Social Action, wherein Durkheim is seen as providing a solution to the Hobbesian problem of 'order'.[6] Hobbes' argument for order is based on the need for reason in the form of a social contract by which men restrain their natural liberty, ceding it to a ruler in return for security. "It is only through the authority of this sovereign that the (natural) war of all against all is held in check, and order and security maintained."[7] In this way, no man may gain unlimited power to command the services or the recognition of others. Here again we see the importance of the seventeenth century context, where the secularization of social thought raised the problem of the (normative) basis of social order, and individual rights, at a time when notions of human nature (a secularized version of the theological notion of man as originally evil) paralleled the rise of the Newtonian system. "Hence there was a strong tendency to assimilate these deterministic laws of nature, in logical type and in part also in content, to the current deterministic theories of physical nature - ... The first great example of this type of deterministic thinking in the social field is Hobbes."[8]

There are still other connections between modern, post-war structural-functionalists and Durkheim, one of the more important being the concept of social pathology and the frequent use of a biological analogy to clarify this concept. This analogy is at the basis of functionalist theory, and is crucial to an understanding of functionalist explanations of social pathology. For example

Durkheim's discussion of the notion of 'normal' and 'pathological' relies on arguments taken from biology, in which normal is a measure of frequency within a species (higher or lower). Normal or average is seen by Durkheim as being equivalent to health for a particular species and thus "every deviation from this standard of health is a morbid phenomenon." [9] And this law is exactly the same in sociology as in biology: "it has never occurred to anyone to assume that what is normal for a mollusc, is normal also for a vertebrate." [10] The morbibity or pathology of a given species is not part of their normal nature for Durkheim, and is not related to the conditions for their general (normal) existence.

This relates to the second major continuity of the functionalist school, which again demonstrates the dependence on a biological analogy: that of evolution. Durkheim's concept of the health of a species raises the question of how this state of health came to be the norm in that setting. Clearly the current norm of health is the most useful or beneficial, since otherwise the health of the species, indeed the future of the species itself would be imperilled. And this current state has come about through gradual adaptation to circumstance. Here Durkheim answers his own question: "How could (normal characteristics)... have maintained themselves under so great a variety of circumstances if they had not enabled the individual better to resist the elements of destruction?" [11] Clearly the greater frequency of normal characteristics, as opposed to pathological varieties, is proof of their greater usefulness. The circularity of the argument - what is normal is successful; what is successful is normal - appears to escape Durkheim's attention. He simply insists that phenomena such as behaviour patterns must continue to adapt to changing external conditions. If they do not, they cease to become 'normal'. This reinforces the view that "health .. is recognizable by the perfect adaptation of the organism to its environment",[12] or at least that social phenomena are normal when most commonly present at a given stage in the development of that species. Crime, or other forms of deviance, must needs be morbid, pathological or 'dysfunctional' from this perspective, although Durkheim accepts a degree of crime as necessary, and argues it can help reaffirm conventional collective sentiments of the majority.

The last major link in the functionalist chain of thought is the emphasis on the unitary, integrating, systemic quality of sociology, a view which as Gouldner argues, is a living link to 'Sociological Positivism', and whose clearest modern exponent is Talcott Parsons. Parsons' organicism, expressed in the notion that (an understanding of) the anatomy of the whole must be prior to the interpretation of any individual element, and his view that each element only gains significance in terms of what it contributes to other parts and therefore the whole are sensible in the organic traditions of Comte and St. Simon, and crucially, Durkheim. So indeed is Parsons' taxonomic fervour.

The concept of system, then, is an integral part of contemporary functionalism, although more evident in the work of some from this school than others. R. K. Merton, while affirming its importance, tends not to use it explicitly while Parsons' use is more overt. Its meaning and methodological significance is made clear in the following citation: "The most essential condition of successful dynamic analysis is continual and systematic reference of every problem to the state of the system as a whole .. Functional significance in this context is inherently teleological. A process or set of conditions either 'contributes' to the maintenance (or development) of the system, or it is 'dysfunctional' in that it detracts from the integration and effectiveness of the system. It is thus the functional reference of all particular conditions and processes to the state of the total system as a going concern which provides the logical equivalent of simultaneous equations in a fully developed system of analytical theory." [13]

Apart from the heavy emphasis on the implicit defence of the status-quo, there is an immediate by-product in this Parsonsian formulation. By excluding aspects of the physical, material and ecological environment, as also of man's own physical functioning and constitution, Parsons achieves a gain in formal terms, (those elements which remain within his model of the social system are now the only ones capable of accounting for action) but only at the expense of an important loss in terms of heuristic, explanatory potential. Logical elegance, as Gouldner points out, is no substitute for empirical potency.

The social system, as described by Parsons, bears little direct resemblance to the concept as employed in the Marxist tradition, where social antagonisms are paramount, and are related to structural contradictions. On the contrary, the Parsonsian 'system' is conceived as an integrated whole (again the biological analogy may be usefully employed here) in which a Durkheimian differentiation [14] is understood as all originating from one primal stock, or element. This 'oneness' which Parsons imparts to the world is also particularly manifest in the image of social groups employed throughout. This is done in the same a priori manner in which the social system is seen as unitary; no empirical stain is allowed to blot Parsons' copybook. Reciprocity, interdependence, complementarity are the kinds of terms used to explain social interaction, and the relationship which pertains between different elements of the whole social system. The view of social system implied by these assumptions is for Parsons anti-deterministic (vis á vis his view of Marxism, for example [15]), but clearly again affirms the unitary view of the social system. The bias inherent in this approach is immediately apparent if we make the opposite assumption of relative functional autonomy of individual parts. Indeed this is perfectly plausible, since although it is possible to talk of a specific system-integrative imperative of certain parts of the system which align themselves with the interests of the whole, these intrinsic forces will tend to be opposed by forces designed to preserve a degree of autonomy for specific interests or parts. [16]

The question of interests is also relevant to a consideration of the normative dimension to social action in Parsons. The moral basis of Durkheim's 'social facts' is here conceived as the 'normative orientation of action', in which action is seen as inherently teleological. "A normative orientation is fundamental to the schema of action in the same sense that space is fundamental to that of classical mechanics; in terms of the given conceptual scheme there is no such thing as action except as effort to conform with norms just as there is no such thing as motion except as change of location in space." [17] Indeed a normative direction for action is, for Parsons, a necessary property of rationality, conceived of as guided by valid knowledge. The relationship of norms to action can even be expressed in terms of rules, since norms provide parameters within which (a range of) action can occur. A businessman may be guided, in performing a transaction, by the normative rule of honesty which then provides definite limits to the action he may undertake. The clear relevance of interest in respect of a normative orientation of action is seen, although not very clearly by Parsons, when we recognize that different parts of a 'system' will vary in their degree of commitment to that system's moral code; indeed the degree of allegiance exhibited will to a large degree vary with the position which has been negotiated by that part, and its stance vis á vis the concept of autonomy, and with the time at which it occurs. There may be debate about which norm applies in a given situation, which again reinforces the view that, "What one conceives to be moral, tends to vary with one's interests." [18] This is not recognized by Parsons who argues, on the contrary that the very structure of social systems is gained through the institutionalized 'normative culture'. Moreover, this culture exists hierarchically, and is passed on in descending order from society - "the highest order concrete system of interaction treated as theoretically relevant for the analytical purposes of sociology" [19] - through various forms of collectivity-structure, to the individual. This leads straight to the view that units of a system, such as individuals, which do not obey the overall normative standards of the community are necessarily deviant.

A negative view of change becomes more explicit when we turn to the question of system-maintenance in Parsons. However, the view of the centrality of evolution in Durkheim is somewhat attenuated in Parsons, although this depends to a degree on which part of the Parsonsian corpus one concentrates upon. Certainly the emphasis on normalcy is immediately apparent in both, but in Parsons the allegiance tends to be more to the biological concept of homeostasis [20] as a model for system maintenance. It is important here, however, to analytically distinguish Parsons' view of interdependence, as briefly reviewed above, from the concept of equilibrium since, as

Gouldner points out, while equilibrium implies interdependence, the reverse is not necessarily implied.[21] Again however, as with Durkheim, the analysis focusses upon the process by which systems maintain a harmonious existence in relation to their environment. "In focussing on social system equilibrium, Parsons' concern is with the manner in which patterns of interaction are stabilized and unchanged, or on how, when some changes do occur, still others will result whose effect is to limit the first changes or return the situation to what it had been." [22] Change and social contradiction seem marginal on this view, indeed Parsons' assumption seems to be that, once established, a mutually satisfying interaction will simply maintain itself: "the complementarity of role expectations, once established, is not problematical ... No special mechanisms are required for the explanation of the maintenance of complementary interaction-orientation." [23] No empirical evidence is presented for this view, and a priori there seems little reason to postulate this feature. Uninterrupted conformity of expectations will more likely lead to some strain, or apathy, and hence change. Indeed Gouldner argues that conformity contains within it the seeds of its own destruction, since a glut of conformity may well lead to some change in expectation, and thus a degree of disequilibrium.

Of course the very assumption of mutual gratification of systemic expectations is, for Parsons, partially contingent upon the assumption that Alter and Ego both have, that the other's expectations are legitimate. In other words, an assumption of a common moral code is written into the interaction equation. But again, morality encompasses a degree of tension (why have a moral injunction, unless as constraint; which then implies that someone may well desire to act in opposition to the injunction?); nevertheless the notion of equilibrium is still the goal, and failure to achieve this goal is seen by Parsons as a negative result. It is presumably for this reason that "..structural change " can be categorized together with "dissolution as a boundary-maintaining system (analagous to biological death for the organism), or the consolidation of some impairment leading to the establishment of secondary structures of a 'pathological' character," [24] as possible outcomes of this adaptive failure. Perhaps the major assumptions of Parsons' system of action, is captured in his articulation of

'Pattern Maintenance', which embodies the "imperative of maintaining the stability of the patterns of institutional culture defining the structure of the system," involving the "internalization" of the normative pattern "in the structure of .. (the individuals).. personality." [25] Systemic stability is the aim, in the face of potential disruption posed by changing values, and "mechanisms that tend to protect .. order" [26] need to be sought. 'Tension management' is thus seen as an important problem, relating particularly to control over socialization mechanisms in respect of the individual. Overall, pattern maintenance "plays a part in the theory of social systems, as other systems of action, comparable to that of the concept of inertia in mechanics." [27]

The function of integration is also of prime importance within the Parsonsian system of action, although it implies a theory of reaction more than a theory of action. The core problem here is that of the adjustment of subsystems to more effectively contribute to the "effective functioning of the system as a whole" [28] (thereby relating to the problem of pattern maintenance), and also to the external context. Legal norms are principally regulatory here, effecting internal adjustments to contribute to systemic stability; as are also "institutionalization of money and power .. (which are also) .. mechanisms of social control.[29] Integration within the Parsonsian system is acknowledged to be the core concern of sociological theory, a clear indication of the overall functionalist ideology of orderly progress as expressed by Comte.

Naturalism, the view that the logics of natural and social sciences are not fundamentally dissimilar and can be based on an uncritical natural scientific tradition, is clearly fundamental to Parsons, and again finds perhaps its clearest expression in Comte. The latter's view of the hierarchy of the sciences conceives sociology, as we have seen, as firstly dependent upon the development of the lower order sciences, but having its own discrete matter to investigate (a view reiterated by Durkheim); and secondly as the final, the ultimate, and the most difficult science, the last locus of positivist illumination. This view has also served both as an apology for the inability of an as-yet-adolescent sociology to find that precision which naturalistic views of science indicated must lie at the end of all the sciences; and as a defense for an uncritical view of the field of sociology.

All of the foregoing supports the dominant view of post-war sociology, most explicitly in the United States but also present *elsewhere, that industrial society would issue in the end of* ideology, as for example with Daniel Bell's work. The view was that there were essential qualities in industrial society which tended toward unilinear development, transcending class antagonism (which was seen as in Durkheim to be more legitimately associated with early industrial society) and particular forms of more radical social and political expression. This was the essence of the all-pervasive myth of the Minotaur, as Gouldner has termed it: the belief in a value-free social theory. ".. The myth of a value-free sociology has been a conquering one. Today all the powers of sociology, from Parsons to Lundberg, have entered into a tacit alliance to bind us to the dogma that 'Thou shalt not commit a value judgement', especially as sociologists." [30] The utopian, ideological quality of this ethic, less readily apparent at a time of post-war optimism and economic progress, has been brought to light by the increasing failure-to-emerge of that putative consensus, indeed a widening gulf between the predictions of consensual socio-political theory and the reality of active social differentiation, strain and antagonism in contemporary industralized states.[31]

Parsons' expression of the goal of value-free social inquiry is based upon an explicit adoption of his view of the Weberian tradition, in which a distinction is made between value-reference (Wertbeziehung), which is accepted as central to the social sciences, and value-judgements (Wertungen) which cannot be considered objective, and must therefore be avoided. Facts are, in this view, unproblematic ('objective' and 'verifiable') [32] and can be detailed or explained scientifically: ".. once a phenomenon is descriptively given, the establishment of causal relations between it and either its antecedents or its consequences is possible only through the application, explicitly or implicitly, of a formal schema of proof that is independent of any value system, except the value of scientific truth." [33] The formal scheme of logical objective proof, as Parsons terms it, is the fixed and unchanging (and presumably unchallengeable) point of reference from which we can judge specific theories in the sciences. Overall, Parsons seems to be making a rather fine distinction here. In social inquiry, he holds, research is based upon the notion of interest, by which he means the relevance of social phenomena and action to those values which the researcher holds to be important. Although this is the selective organizing principle for data choice in the social sciences, and although rationality of action as we have seen is predicated upon a normative orientation for Parsons, he still insists we are not justified in making value-judgements in social research. It is as though having admitted value into the understanding of social phenomena, it is now excluded again. For Parsons it appears we can simply shed our values like our clothes, despite having been brought to study a particular problem by those same values.

Clearly however, one value which Parsons was quite unable to discard was that of rationality in the form of a reliance upon the 'scientific' application of appropriate means to a given end. Science is conceived here as the "rational achievement par excellence" and thus its procedures ought to be adopted as the paradigm for social action. Thus the overall criterion for rationality is conceived in the following fashion: "Action is rational in so far as it pursues ends possible within the conditions of the situation, and by the means which, among those available to the actor, are intrinsically best adapted to the end for reasons understandable and verifiable by positive empirical science."[34] The 'end' in this formula is accepted as "given, without inquiry as to its rationality or 'reasonableness' ".[35] Thus there is an explicit acceptance of scientific logic and the norm of the "intrinsic means-end relationship"[36] as guarantors of rationality. Action is only rational in so far as it is scientifically demonstrable that, given the limitations of knowledge available, the means will bring about the stated ends, ends which Parsons argues are not to be investigated in terms of their character. This means-ends orientation in Parsons derives to a considerable degree from the concept of Zweckrationalität in Max Weber, and has received considerable critical attention from, inter-alia, Feyerabend and Habermas; we shall again encounter such preoccupations with rationality and efficiency shortly in our treatment of modernization theory.

There have been many variations upon the theme of functionalism, not all of them as static in their assumptions as Parsons.[37] Many, if not most, adopted an evolutionary perspective in their work, in which functions of the system determine structures.[38] Most adopted, with variation, a reasonably uncritical system-concept in their work, although some began to acknowledge the possibility of negative consequences of particular behaviour. This recognition gave rise, respectively, to Merton's elaboration of 'dysfunctional', and Levy's consequent attempt to systematize the concept of function: 'eufunctional' for patterns which have positive effects on system maintenance and equilibrium, and 'dysfunctional' for negative patterns.[39] But overall, the concept of a homeostatic, balanced system tended to dominate the earlier Durkheimian emphasis on evolution, the exception perhaps being functionalist explanation of the process of modernization. Moore sums up this historical shift away from the developmental perspective, and its implications for functionalist research practice: "Despite the disclaimers of defenders of the faith, functionalism has largely eschewed dynamics. The course of functionalist analysis, among both anthropologists and sociologists, veered from Durkheim's muted evolutionary orientation to 'synchronic', cross-sectional analysis. Not only was the older evolutionism rejected, but also virtually all sequential patterns."[40]

But the concept of a stable system nevertheless deployed concepts taken from the evolutionary armoury. In particular, the concept of 'natural selection', appeared common to most explanations of how specific sub-systems either survived (because they contributed to systemic viability) or perished (because they did not). A similar analysis could be made of whole societies which were in competition, or in terms of their interaction with their environment. We need simply note at this stage the assumption, inbuilt in this approach, of the inherent, a priori nature of functional prerequisites of a social system, which need to be fulfilled if the system is to survive. And these functional requisites did not simply include biological imperatives (such as the need for adequate reproduction, and infant care) but other needs such as role-differentiation, role-assignment, patterns of authority, specialization, and even shared cognitive orientations, or definitions of the situation, which then avoid conflict. Even more interestingly, we notice control of disruptive behaviour, adequate socialization, adequate institutionalization, regulation of both choice of means and expression of the affective dimension as further prerequisites.[41] This affirmation of the importance of orderly compliance or "social control"[42] (whether positive or negative) is a central and insistent feature of the functionalist school.

The social system, however, does not appear in a single, universal form, and Parsons' later work, for example, was to some extent a response to insistent criticism that functionalism concentrated on abstract, taxonomic distinctions (based on assumptions regarding systemic imperatives and human nature), rather than on empirical explanations of real change and diversity among systems. But even here, Parsons ignored such important demarcation points for the study of development of systems, as writing and settled agriculture, both of which are usually argued to have important structural consequences for societies which manifest these features.[43] And, once again, systemic needs are postulated rather than demonstrated, and general values are assumed to be held consensually rather than viewed as problematic. Predictably, it is in this part of the Parsonsian corpus that we most clearly recognize both homeostatic and evolutionary foundations for functionalist explanation. He argues, for example, that 'human organic developments' such as manipulative hands, language and the like are vital in societal evolution and then again employs the biological analogy - "In the realm of action the gene has been replaced by the symbol as the basic structural element", - as evidence for which he cites a work on homeostatic systems analysis.[44] The overall Whiggish gloss of Parsons' stages of development in this phase of his work - primitive, intermediate, modern - shows clear allegiance to Durkheim's erroneous anthropological formulations, wherein it was stated that 'primitive' societies such as that of the Australian Aborigine were undifferentiated in structure. This spurious claim dovetailed neatly with the overall, and unexplained, assumption that increasing structural differentiation was a major feature of social evolution. Parsons' work also demonstrates much the same uncritical acceptance of evolutionary theory as it as least implied in the work of stage-theorists of modernization, such as W. W. Rostow, of the post-war period. Social evolution is employed here as both ".. taxonomic device .. and .. dynamic principle.." [45] Education is also to play its part in this sedative evolutionary process, in that it is construed here as a mechanism for imparting commitment to the major cultural traditions. Innovation, in the form of artistic or scientific creation is admitted, but only it would appear, within the existing cultural parameters. No mention is made of possible fundamental economic or political change, indeed the conclusion of one of Parsons' papers on comparative sociology points to a contemporary trend Parsons discerns whereby, in the spirit of Rostow, Bell, and others, "older concerns with economic and even political problems are in course of being considerably relativized."[46]

The evolutionary element within functionalist theory, however, had been, as Giddens has argued, attenuated since its incorporation in Durkheim. Indeed one symptom both of the functionalist school's general theoretical dominance in the post-war period, and its trend towards a more abstract, formal and static analysis, is the hope and interest demonstrated not only by functionalists themselves, but also by philosophers of science such as inter-alia E. Nagel, I. Scheffler, and C. Hempel, in the status of functionalism as a natural science of society. Both functionalists and the aforementioned philosophers of science were interested in the status of functionalism as a formal-rational explanatory system. According to both these groups functional analysis could largely be contrasted with historical forms of explanation; not only does functionalism largely bracket historical development (system maintenance having much more to do with the internal operation of the contemporary system) but, according to C. Hempel, relies on general laws.[47] Accordingly, the problem for functionalist analysis, its aim, is to show that a system(s) is operating under internal conditions (ci) and external conditions (ce) which together (c) operate such that an item or trait (i) has effects which satisfy a systemic need (n) or functional requirement. To use Hempel's widely-known terms, the Explanans consists of those pertinent laws and facts, or initial conditions (here C_1 and C_n) while the Explanandum, that which is to be explained according to the operation of the Explanans, is the operation of (i) in performing a functional requirement (n) which is necessary for the adequate, stable operation of the system.[48] We are talking here of explanation of social phenomena by "deductive assumption under general laws".[49] Of course, such deductive-nomological explanation can only operate given satisfactory criteria for establishing systemic needs, which precise items can fulfil such needs, and what is to be considered as normal functioning of the system. Given this, analysis or explanation of a systemic - cultural phenomenon can perhaps be offered on the basis of its functioning within the system. Thus, to use an anthropological example, magic may perform a 'unique and necessary' function within a culture, although as indicated above, there may often be functional alternatives to any given unit (magic) within a system, just as in evolution there are multiple solutions possible at particular points. Functionalist explanation as a formal system of deductive inference, then, is of limited value in social analysis, if not practically implausible.

If, however, functionalist explanation, as we have seen, cannot be entirely explained according to deductive principles (since it is not possible to specify what Hempel calls the 'boundary conditions' or initial conditions, and there is always the possibility that another item may adequately fulfil the postulated systemic need), the possibility remains that functionalism can be defended on inductive principles, that is in terms of statistical probabilities. Unfortunately there is still the same possibility that another item (i) can very possibly fulfil the postulated systemic need (n), thus the previously outlined conditions for the operation of the system, even if considered as premisses, "taken jointly could still not be said to make the presence just of (i) highly probable."[50] As Hempel goes on to point out, unless it is possible to have access to a, universal or statistical, hypothesis of self-regulation such predictions or ganeralizations cannot be made. By a hypothesis of self-regulation Hempel intends a principle by which, within certain limits of adaptability, a given system will continue to satisfy the functional demands, necessary for its continued existence, that can arise from changes in its internal or external conditions. Examples of hypotheses of self-regulation which Hempel cites make clear the dependence on a broadly homeostatic assumption.[51] Given, however, such an hypothesis, functionalist theory has been seen as having three objectives: explanation of past and present events; prediction or generalization regarding future events; and selection of "effective measures of control".[52]

Although Hempel is ultimately somewhat sceptical as to the potential of functionalism as a complete formal system, this is by no means our only interest in his analysis, for it stands as a clear example of scientific interest in functionalism as a 'natural science of society'. The exposition by Hempel demonstrates a clear technical interest in prediction and control, and reveals no interest in the lived experience of individuals in the system; or questions of value.

Before turning to an examination of functionalist influence in educational research, we must clarify one focus which has thus far been only implicit. The concepts of system, structure and function have been used in other theoretical contexts, notably L. van Bertalanffy's systems theory, and to some extent in recent, and generally French, structuralism. Although these traditions are distinct, the concept of the abstract and anti-humanist "applicability of rigorous models to social behaviour",[53] the over-determination of particular elements of the social whole by the structure of that whole,[54] and the impossibility of adequately containing human reflexive action by such "mechanical systems"[55] of explanation, make clear that criticisms of functionalism would be also largely applicable to structuralism and to Bertalanffy. The particular examination, then, of these theoretical structures will be deemed to be outside the scope of this study.

In education, the dominance of the functionalist paradigm for twentieth century, Anglo-Saxon educational research in the period up to approximately the nineteen-seventies has been broadly acknowledged. Although sociology of education has had a relatively strong research tradition, education tended to be conventionally viewed as an important sub-system with the function of providing skilled manpower for the wider system. The problem tended to be seen as merely one of increasing access to existing institutions, which were sometimes acknowledged to be overrepresented by members of particular classes. "The 'social class and educational opportunity' era was essentially one of structural functionalism.." [56] This provoked increasing criticism, from at least the early nineteen-seventies, of the emphasis in traditional sociology of education whereby concepts and institutions were simply accepted. Now, by contrast, sociologists of education were to 'make' rather than simply 'take' their problems. This mooted reversal of interest from the problem of order to that of control [57] was an explicit rejection of the functionalist paradigm and its Hobbesian legacy. In particular, the new paradigm returned to eighteenth century views involving the "critical questioning of whatever is taken as inviolable, whether 'God-given' or through 'natural law';" which was now directed against "a new absolutism, that of science and reason",[58] rather than the predominantly feudal and clerical constraints of the eighteenth century. Concepts, institutions and their interrelations were now to be seen as problematic; something to be explained rather than, as in the older functionalist paradigm, assumed.

Although a broad acceptance of the functionalist paradigm for research in much sociology of education of the post-war period at least has been adverted to by several authors,[59] one field of particular importance to comparative education will be selected as a case-study of functionalist influence. Modernization theorists of the post-war period exercised an important influence in proposing a view of education as a significant factor in development. The education system was often viewed as an important index of modernity, particularly in providing a reservoir of skilled manpower for technological progress; and in such models of development, universal and undefended concepts of 'system', a unilinear path for development, and an unchanging index or pattern of development was often found. But before turning to an examination of this corpus, we must pause to consider one of the few direct statements by a 'founding father' of comparative education on functionalism in comparative education.[60]

N. Hans' article is not specifically rooted in any great analysis of core features of functionalism, nor in a consideration and adoption of a particular position based on a specific functionalist theorist. Indeed, the only allusion to the functionalist corpus is a citation of Malinowski's claim that the subject matter of anthropology was largely too complex to lend itself to 'scientific', statistical analysis. This view was clearly in accord with that of Hans, who argued that Comparative Education was as difficult and complex as anthropology. But in Hans' reference to Malinowski and in his, albeit brief, exposition of functionalism, he tends to contrast functional analysis with more scientific, or statistical, approaches which take little account of national diversity in their analyses and recommendations. This seems a rather uncommon characterization of functionalism, and is contradicted by inter alia Woock, who argues that most of the statistical research into education of the last few decades was informed by generally functionalist assumptions.[61] It appears that Hans may be reading his own views on methodology into his consideration of functionalism, as for example when he claims: "Comparative education is based on history and should be dealt with functionally, which is another way of saying historically." [62] Having just considered the views of both an anthropologist and a philosopher of science who both clearly differentiated historical from functional analysis on the basis that the latter was a more formal system operating on the basis of certain scientific laws; and having characterized modern functionalism as becoming increasingly less developmental and more concerned with the internal analysis of relationships in a static system, Hans' assessment of functionalism seems difficult to accept.

In his application of what Hans takes to be functionalist explanation to the study of national education systems, however, it is possible to discern elements of functionalism, at least the anthropological strain to which Hans alludes. In his analysis, although he imparts a greater historical dimension than was perhaps the case for functionalist anthropologists, stress was placed, for example, on the adaptation of institutions to the national needs of the country. In so characterizing comparative education, Hans proceeds to look at the functions education was to serve in various societies, most particularly those related to the provision of technical personnel for manpower needs and economic growth. In examining various responses of countries to "the identical goal of industrialisation",[63] Hans seems to be operating with functionalist concepts of system. Education, it appears in his analysis, is merely a subsystem with a clear and uncritical function of pattern maintenance, that is servicing the technical requirements of the larger system. There seems little reciprocity in the relationship, nor any consideration of non-technicist values of education; the education system is simply to operate mechanically, as a cog in a given machine. Hans also appears in the above to be operating with a broadly unilinear model of development when referring to industrialisation as an identical problem in different contexts.

Turning now to studies of the process of modernisation in 'developing'[64] countries, it is possible to discern functionalist preoccupations in influential examples of the post-war period. David McClelland's major effort in this field, The Achieving Society,[65] gives education an important role in his analysis of how to accelerate economic growth, and at the same time explains modernization in terms of Parsons' work on Weber's rationalization of life. By this, of course, Weber meant a lessening in a mystical or supernatural orientation to life, an increase in striving, orderliness, rigidity, orientation to work without reward, and other such features which he gave as characteristic of modern capitalist orientations. According to McClelland, this process of rationalization could be linked to the process of development: ".. it seems reasonable enough to interpret Weber's argument for the connection between Protestantism and the rise of capitalism in terms of a revolution in the family, leading to more sons with strong internalized achievement drives." [66]

We have already noted in Parsons the importance of the process of rationalization, and McClelland's analysis explicitly depends upon Parsons "reformulations and developments of Weber's ideas." [67] Increased division of labour, a more contractual style in social relations, a lessening of supernatural and spiritual influences, a corresponding increase in the tendency to be "coldly rational",[68] the substitution of material rather than spiritual forms of need and satisfaction, are all derived by McClelland from Parsons, and then transformed into items which together indicate 'need achievement', the basis of McClelland's modernization process. We dearly discern here not only the overall means-ends quality of rationality which is outlined by McClelland, and its dependence on Parsons, but at the same time we realize that the form of social rationalization described, involves, as with Weber, an emphasis, and perhaps defense, of values taken to be basic to the development of modern, western-capitalist society. McClelland's use of rationalization, which is in fact an amalgam of the Protestant-capitalist life-orientations and work values as his discussion makes clear, gives considerable cause for unease as a basis for a model of development. If development and modernization can be reduced to the adoption and implementation of a more technicist value-system based on what Feyerabend has called the unholy alliance of science, rationality and capitalism, then we may clearly discern in McClelland a functionalist definition of development as a unilinear evolutionary process leading towards western capitalism, and based on a definite set of assumptions which inhibit the development of social alternatives. Clearly, the concept of rationality which underlies McClelland's concept of need achievement and modernization embraces a technocratic concern with questions of economic efficiency and the like, while eschewing those values of emancipation and human enlightenment which were at the core of the rationality concept that has been consistently advanced by figures such as Feyerabend and Habermas.

McClelland's discussion of the role of education in development bears out the consistent preoccupation with western, techno-rationality as a means for increasing need achievement, although his assessment of the results of such exposure is ambiguous. Although pointing to the fact that educational institutions with an emphasis on western rationality-concepts have been influential in producing political and industrial leaders of third-world nations, with increased 'need achievement', his own analysis reveals no great evidence that western-rational schooling has much effect on 'need achievement' scores. This leads McClelland to the view that such forms of schooling ought perhaps to begin earlier, perhaps in the elementary years; and ought perhaps to be associated with broader changes such as that of family-style and general "ideological conversion".[69] Nowhere in McClelland's discussion of exposure to foreign "educational influences which might increase in Achievement",[70] is there any great discussion of the notion of primacy of respect for the cultural values of the recipient of western schooling. Indeed, McClelland's only admission of the possibility of disruption of personality-structures under such forms of western educational influence indicates his primary concern is with the technical efficiency of various modes of cultural interaction and their effect on need-achievement scores, rather than any fundamental discussion of the ethics of such cultural concourse. Indeed the entire discussion of education by McClelland is imbued with a functional means-ends, instrumentalist flavour, whereby questions are limited to choices of strategies with which most efficiently to achieve such assumed targets as the provision of a given level of technical or managerial manpower. Educational sub-systems are then, to use the language of functionalism, simply one unit within the larger system; and schooling simply exists to obey the technical imperatives of the larger organism by providing legions of skilled personnel tarred with whatever ideological brush is deemed desirable. The functionalist concern with efficiency, at the expense of ethics, is readily apparent, as is the conception of social change as adaptive.

We see some of these concerns in another influential work of the nineteen-sixties, which although not restricting itself to the process of modernization and development, devotes a considerable part of its content to the problems of the 'developing world', from a systems-analytic perspective. Philip Coombs The World Educational Crisis[71] is one of the more important works to employ this perspective; through his work we are able to study the extent to which his concept of system appears to show any allegiance to the concept as employed in functionalist theory, and secondly the extent to which his use of systems-theory to analyze 'development' is informed by other functionalist intellectual conventions such as technicist rationalization, a broadly unilinear conception of development, and an emphasis on conservation and homeostasis.

Demonstrably, Coombs' concept of system is largely explicable by reference to functionalist employment of the concept. The initial description of education as "a system with interacting parts" stresses the interaction of sub-units of the larger system, and his subsequent use of clarificatory examples reinforces the notion of functional interdependence of sub-units of the system. A change to one item or sub-unit of the system, as in the case of a change in curriculum, or a change in aims or priorities, will often have a significant effect on other items within the system, such as distribution of resources, allocation or choice of students, and so on. At times, "virtually every component is substantially affected by such a change." [72]

A further link to the functionalist use of system is contained in the recognition that explanation and analysis cannot be limited to a consideration of factors internal to the system. On the contrary, understanding of "the internal components of the system, detached from the environment" [73] is inadequate, and educational systems analysis must incorporate relationships between education and society, which are reciprocal, and not limited to any rigid pattern of response on the part of the education system.

Although the articulation of system as responsive or adaptive to both internal and external changes may be seen as an implicit acceptance of a biological model of system, it is possible to locate more direct evidence of the adoption of this feature of functionalist use of system in Coombs' work. Perhaps the major analogy Coombs uses to illustrate his concept of system is with that of the human body. Although, Coombs argues, a doctor can never have full knowledge of a patient's human biological "system and its functional processes",[74] he performs his diagnosis on the basis of indicators which allow him to "appraise the way the total system is functioning, and (to) prescribe .. what may be needed to make it function better."[75] Similarly, educational management seeks to elicit indicators which reveal the state of operation of an educational system, so as to increase its systemic efficiency: ".. if one is to assess the health of an education system in order to improve its performance and to plan its future intelligently, the relationship between its critical components must be examined in a unified vision".[76]

The ideology of strategic rationality on which Coombs' analysis rests becomes readily apparent when, for example, it is argued that the education system can be analyzed and managed in just the same manner as a range of institutions, "everything from department stores to military establishments".[77] The refrain may vary slightly it would appear, but the song remains the same: "The 'indicators' differ from context to context, but the strategy remains the same".[78] The strategic nature of the application of a Parsonsian style means-ends rationality for the organisation of education is further reinforced in Coombs' argument that education is an adaptive unit of a larger system, whose function it must uncritically serve. Coombs' major, indeed sole preoccupation here, to the exclusion of claims of the inherent value of education is that the process of education simply "be made more relevant, efficient and effective within the context of the particular society".[79] This conception of education is surely at the heart of the functionalist research traditions in which education is simply an adaptive sub-unit whose function it is to mechanically service the intrinsic needs of the social system, most particularly with respect to the function of providing skilled manpower in the requisite quantity.

Coombs' hypostatized education system functions within a generally reified social system such as exists in Parsons. For Coombs, the major components of an educational system, including such "resource inputs"[80] as 'students', and 'teachers' can simply be listed, then fed into a black box described as the 'education process', whence emerge 'educational outputs' known as 'educated individuals', or 'manpower requirements'. It is largely because of his reified system-concept one suspects, that Coombs is driven to argue that social demand for education must inevitably increase, even despite economic changes, or changes to the level of resources devoted to education.

Despite talk of social demand, democratisation and the like, it may reasonably be inferred that in speaking of 'student inputs' and 'teacher inputs', Coombs' implicitly accepts the technicist ideology of the functionalist fold, by employing abstract, mechanical, anti-humanist models in social analysis, and by his emphasis on the determination of education by the social system. A dialectical, reflexive concept of man is entirely absent from Coombs' educational equation, nor is much weight given to education as form of personal, and critical liberation. The aim of knowledge, and of the education system for Coombs seems almost entirely to be the satisfaction of assumed technical wants of the social system, most particularly its manpower requirements. The discussion of teachers is very largely in economic terms: not only supply and demand, levels of qualifications salary levels vis á vis other professions; but also "hard economic facts"[81] such as education being a mass-production, labour intensive industry supported by only handicraft technology, the ageing of the teaching profession relative to costs of pensions and automatic increases, and the pecuniary costs to 'developing' countries of making their teaching body more indigenous. The mathematical, mechanistic manner in which Coombs analyses processes of decision in respect of teachers, and wider questions of educational planning, clearly reveals a covert reliance upon a technicist ideology in which values of efficiency and economy are largely unchallenged. More basic questions of personal fulfilment and liberation, as also the wider and more ethical dimensions to education, are rendered invisible in the analogy of the planning process to a self-regulating, self-propelling system or machine. There is no room in Coombs' analysis for the concept of an autonomous human being with feelings, interests, and aspirations. There can be no room for autonomous human beings in techno-logically, econometrically restricted discussions of education and its aims, and it is here that Habermasian arguments as to the submerging of practical questions into technical, decisionistic considerations, as also his arguments on systematically distorted communication patterns have peculiar force.[82]

The consensus that education was an important factor in general strategies for economic development and political modernisation achieved almost paradigmatic status in modernisation literature of the first two decades or more after nineteen forty-five. Indeed, some examples of this literature purported to be design-blueprints for development, and analyses only secondarily. Certainly, one of the more obvious and well-known products of such strategically-oriented thinkers was Harbison and Myers' Education, Manpower and Economic Growth.[83] The emphasis in this work was on the development or exploitation of human resources as a vital ingredient in economic development. Human resources were from this view "a form of capital, a produced means of production, and the product of investment."[84] Given this econometric conception, it is no surprise that education was seen throughout as a basic tool of manpower planning strategy. Hence also the focus of the work could be given as the analysis of the ... means and possible stragegies of human capital formation"[85] as a promoter of economic growth. Here again, although human resource development was acknowledged to be conceivable in other than economic terms, the subsequent substantive discussion of the theory and methodology of human resource development was almost entirely in econometric and strategic terms. Education was a form of capital like any other, and could be employed in quite the same strategically-oriented manner.[86] It need be considered in no other manner than in terms of its strategic potential.

The scientistic techno-logic which informed the discussion of development, and the contribution of education, was implicit throughout Harbison and Myers' work. The postwar phenomenon of worldwide aspirations towards development, for example, was explained in the context of "the optimistic conviction that man in this century of science, can move forward by leaps instead of steps."[87] This enlightenment faith in the onward march of progress and its dependence upon the powers of a scientifically ensured rationality omitted any fundamental discussion of values, even its own. Thus the process of development could be seen as merely a design problem, rather like an engineer building a bridge. The open and unrestrained discussion of values or the ends of development, or indeed the role and kind of education deemed desirable, was all bracketed out in the rush to attain the nirvana of technological progress. The inbuilt assumption in this technicist vision of progress was, of course, recognizable as the conventional functionalist assumption of a unilinear path to a brighter and better, more rationalized world, in which problems of all kinds were to be solved in the most technically efficient manner. This selfsame vision of a techno-rationally ordered society has been seen by other, more critically oriented, scholars [88] as accurately describing the modern, western-capitalist state, with its conception of the paramountcy of scientific reason expressed in terms of a decisionistic concern with economy and efficiency in human affairs. The possibility that many nations had no great desire to progress toward this goal was overlooked, and modernization models viewed development as the simple application of rational-scientific planning procedures to the process of becoming modern. This unilinear process of modernisation included as twin aspects a functionalist postulate of progressively changing cultural values and institutions: "For them, modernization theory predicts all change. They posit that societies continually strive for economic and social rationality which maximizes productive social resources. Social change is unidirectional and consists of the movement from simple to increasingly complex social organization; from functionally diffuse to functionally specific institutions; from lesser to greater divisions of labour; from social systems of stratification based on ascription to those based on individual achievement; from belief and legal systems that are particularistic and fatalistic to those that are universalistic and subject to human control.[89]

One could go on. It is not difficult to find further examples of modernization theorists who have been important in the development of postwar comparative education, an importance not unrelated to the tacit or explicit adoption of the functionalist paradigm. The preoccupation with 'becoming modern' [90] was widespread in the postwar period, and theorists often embraced unilinear models of societal development, used a priori and uncritical system concepts, emphasized the rationalisation of human existence, saw value-free social inquiry as their aim and duty, and in general worked within the parameters of the functionalist tradition inherited from Durkheim and Parsons, and whose genealogy can be traced back to the Enlightenment. There were, however, alternatives to the adoption of the functionalist paradigm, which began to emerge from around the early nineteen-seventies [91] and in the process of their establishment criticized the limitations and errors of the older functionalist school. Some of these criticisms can now be made explicit, although without necessarily limiting the criticisms to those advanced by Carnoy or a newer generation of comparative scholars. The analysis of these shortcomings, however, will reflect a more critical orientation to the development of comparative education, and is connected at several points to the view of social theory advanced by Habermas, and the critique of positivism and rationalism developed in the natural sciences by Feyerabend.

The fundamental importance of the system concept deserves our immediate attention. We have observed in both the founding fathers of functionalism, and in several modernization theorists, the use of an a priori, and uncritically held system concept, usually taken from biological models of system. The use of such a formal model is itself an important product of the move to make the study, and the reform, of education more 'scientific' and the world in general more 'rational'. In so doing however, one of the most acute dangers is the adoption of a false, technicist value-system which is often present in the natural sciences,[92] but disastrously constrains the development of the social-sciences. The a priori functionalist system-concept tends also to embody reified systemic needs, which together encourage the employment of a means-ends rationality, which appears fruitful just because it promises to be so effective and economical in the solution of 'society's problems'. But this is of course the point: we cannot solve 'society's problems', when these have been arbitrarily determined in advance; and in the satisfaction of genuine wants in society, we must allow more than a set of technical rules determine the judgement. In functionalist analysis, reified problems tend to be solved, on paper, by the adoption of equally reified sets of rules for their solution. It is as though one were to want to rid oneself of a phantom by using a poltergeist.

But it is not merely that problems, and rules for solutions, are reified in functionalism. It is important to emphasize Habermas' point here, echoed in the natural sciences by Feyerabend, that rationalist projects to devise transcendental rules for the solution of problems are in fact the embrace of a set of technocratic values, rather than an act of value-free social inquiry. Under the functionalist flag of value-free sociology a panoply of scientistic values are revealed, emphasizing efficiency and economy, regardless of ethics. We see our modernization theorists, for example, giving as one of the quintessantial features of 'modern man' a 'coldly rational' demeanour, and using this as a stick with which to beat more 'primitive' societies in which ethics formed a more visible everyday constraint upon action. Both reification and a technocratic scientism are insistent features of functionalist explanations in the social sciences.

The biological model of system in functionalist theory is employed in a telling manner in actual examples of functionalist-inspired research. The use of an (implicitly) unilinear evolutionary path to modernity is an important feature of modernization theorists. The unholy alliance, as we have used the term, of science, rationality and capitalism provices the basis for this evolution, and no society can be judged truly modern until it has been conquered by this triple-alliance. Accordingly, modern man is usually judged in terms of his ability to embrace a scientific outlook, to admire people according to their technical expertise, to embrace mass productive techniques as well as the institutions and relationships which pertain to them. Are these the shining examples of modernity we would wish to hold up for our children to admire and emulate? Are these the institutional models and values we would wish all peoples to adopt? The brave new world which functionalist authors offer as a blueprint for 'modernizing' societies is an unfeeling, cheerless, even chilling, society peopled by similarly bleak individuals who have been rationalized to blend unquestioningly into an architectonic environment. Parsons' dependence upon Weberian rationalisation proved an attractive ideology for functionalist social scientists; the view of society which functionalists then painted was not nearly as attractive.

The last, if not the least, feature of the functionalist deployment of the system concept was its organic, unifying quality. Stemming from Comte and enlightenment theorists, this feature also denoted, as with its forbears, a disrelish for profound social changes, most particularly those which related to social conflict. The functionalist system as used in Parsons and in many modernization theorists was an integrative healing force which overtly and covertly stabilized society and sedated social conflict. In effect, this legitimated the dampening of popular political expression, and encouraged an instrumentalist view of sub-systems of action. Education, as an example of such a subsystem of action, thus tended to be construed and judged solely in terms of its ability to serve the assumed technical wants of the larger system, particularly those which contributed to its stable continuity. Education could hardly contribute to change at all, since it was normatively subordinate: its norms were uncritically taken over from those of the larger system. Education, indeed, was principally important as a vehicle for normative transmission to smaller units of the system such as schools or 'actors', rather than as a source for change. Here again, we are able to discern an antiseptic, and altogether too harmonious view of social change in the work of functionalist authors in education. Social change was only unproblematic within functionalism by virtue of being rationalized and over simplified, such that much change was designated dysfunctional, and to be opposed.

But if sociology can be construed as a sedative science, education is no longer seen as such, and it is perhaps here that the central problem lies. We are now, more than ever, aware that education is inherently political, and as each new study enhances our understanding of the relationship between ideology and curriculum,[93] social class and education,[94] politics and the I.Q. controversy,[95] ideology and research,[96] or education and cultural and economic reproduction,[97] we are the less inclined to accept the analytical constraints of functionalist explanations in education. We are now also less likely to accept that sociology ought to be a natural science of society; or that science is the synonym for rationality; or that rationalism and rationalization are necessarily rational. And if we have grown, as a result of our analysis of functionalist theory and research, a little more skeptical in regard to the beneficent power of the onward march of uncontrolled reason in society, the possibility of formalizing social analysis, or the unproblematic, consensual normative basis for order in society, then perhaps functionalism has served us well. As researchers in education, there is much we may learn from studying the pitfalls of our forbears.

NOTES

[1] See Durkheim, The Rules of Sociological Method, Free Press (Collier Macmillan) 1964, p. 145: "We have .. undertaken to establish that it is possible to treat (social facts) .. scientifically without removing any of their distinctive characteristics".

[2] See Giddens, A. "Positivism and its Critics", Bottomore and Nisbet A History of Sociological Analysis, Heinemann 1979, p. 244, citing Durkheim and Fauconnet, 'Sociologie et Sciences Sociales' Revue philosophique 55, 1903.

[3] Tiryakian, E. A. 'Emile Durkheim', Bottomore and Nisbet A History .. p. 188.

[4] Ibid. p. 190.

[5] See inter alia Zeitlin, I., Ideology and the Development of Sociological Theory (2nd edition) Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 1981, p. 254.

[6] See Parsons, T., The Structure of Social Action New York, The Free Press, 1949, pp. 89 - 91 on the question of order. See also Parsons, T., et. al, Theories of Society, New York, Free Press of Glencoe, 1961. Vol. I, pp. 99 - 101 for a brief extract from Hobbes.

[7] Ibid., p. 91.

[8] Ibid., pp. 88 - 9.

[9] Durkheim, The Rules .. p. 56.

[10] Ibid., p. 56.

[11] Ibid., p. 58.

[12] Ibid., p. 50.

[13] Parsons, T., Essays in Sociological Theory, Glencoe, The Free Press, 1949, p. 21.

[14] See Durkheim, E., The Division of Labour in Society Collier-Macmillan 1964, where increasing differentiation is seen as a concomitant of technological progress, as expressing interdependence of sub-units and organic solidarity, indeed the source for civilization itself. See pp. 39 - 50, and chapters II and III.

[15] See for example, Parsons, The Structure.. pp. 492 - 3.

[16] Although interdependence seems central. See Moore, W. E., 'Functionalism' in Bottomore and Nisbet A History.. p. 323.

[17] See ibid. pp. 76 - 7; and also pp. 44 - 5 for the normative basis of action. See also Essays.. pp. 29 - 30.

[18] Gouldner, A., The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology Heinemann 1971, p. 218.

19 Parsons, et. al. Theories.. p. 43. See pp. 43 - 44 for the view that more all-embracing collectivities are normatively superordinate with respect to smaller or more particular units in the system.

20 See Parsons' reference to the concept in the work of Cannon, in his discussion of the equilibrium question, Parsons, Theories.., I. p. 37. Significantly, Parsons later changed to a cybernetic account of knowledge and information control. See his paper on the biological analogy in Social Systems and the Evaluation of Action Theory New York, The Free Press, 1977.

21 Gouldner, The Coming.. p. 211.

22 Ibid., p. 231.

23 Parsons, T., The Social System, Glencoe, The Free Press, 1951, p. 205.

24 Parsons, Theories.. p. 37.

25 Ibid., p. 38.

26 Ibid., p. 38.

27 Ibid., p. 39.

28 Ibid., p. 40.

29 Ibid., p. 40. See also Parsons, T., "The Present Status of 'Structural-Functional' Theory in Sociology", Coser, L.A. (ed.) The Idea of Social Structure: Papers in Honour of Robert K. Merton New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich 1975.

30 Gouldner, A., For Sociology. Renewal and Critique in Sociology Today. Allen Lane 1973, p. 3.

31 Moore, a 'chastened, penitent' functionalist affirms this preoccupation with the theme of order and change in the context of "new forms of social interdependence established by a highly rationalized economy and polity: Moore, 'Functionalism', p.325.

32 Parsons The Structure.. p. 594. See also p. 638 (ff) for the defense of value-freedom in the sciences.

33 Ibid., p. 594. But note that even Parsons, ardent fidei defensor of value-free sociology, criticizes Weber for failing to acknowledge value-attitudes in the natural sciences, whereas Parsons uses them to explain different scientific traditions. See Ibid., p. 596.

34 Ibid., p. 58.

35 Ibid., p. 58. See also p. 170.

36 Ibid., p. 699.

37 See Moore's discussion of his own account of innovation within his version of functionalism, Moore, 'Functionalism' p. 330, and Merton's structuralism which began from structures and studied their implications for other structures and wider systems. See Blau, P.M., 'Structural Constraints of Status Complements' in Coser, (ed.) The Idea.., esp. Pp. 117 - 118.

[38] An example of this latter interpretation is Kingsley Davis' "Human Society", New York, Macmillan 1949.

[39] See Merton, R. K., *Social Theory and Social Structure* Glencoe, The Free Press 1957, pp. 51 - 3, and Levy, M.J. (Jr) *The Structure of Society* Princeton, Princeton University Press 1952 pp. 76 - 83.

[40] Moore 'Functionalism', p. 343.

[41] These are taken from Levy's work, but also briefly reviewed in Moore, and are present in other forms in other functionalist theorists.

[42] Moore 'Functionalism' p. 347.

[43] See ibid. pp. 350 - 1.

[44] Parsons, T., *Societies. Evolutionary and Comparative Perspectives*. New Jersey, Prentice Hall 1966, p. 30, but see also p. 6 for an expanded formulation. For more on Parsons' developmental view of societies, see his 'Evolutionary Universals in Society', *American Sociological Review*, 29, 1964.

[45] Moore, 'Functionalism' p. 328. The link between functionalist assumptions and concepts of modernization in educational research will be treated shortly. The work alluded to is, of course, Rostow W. W., *Stages of Economic Growth* Cambridge University Press, 1960.

[46] See Parsons, T., 'Some Considerations on the Comparative Sociology', Fischer, J. (Ed.) '*The Social Sciences and the Comparative Study of Educational Systems*', Scranton, International Text Book Company 1970 p. 220. See also p.201 for the view of education described.

[47] Hempel also cites A. R. Radcliffe-Brown's assessment in his *Structure and Function in Primitive Society* London, Cohen and West 1952, p. 186: "Similarly one 'explanation' of a social system will be its history, where we know it - the detailed account of how it came to be what it is and where it is. Another 'explanation' of the same system is obtained by showing (as the functionalists attempt to do) that it is a special exemplification of laws of social psysiology or social functioning." While not being as sanguine as Radcliffe-Brown that the two modes of discourse do not compete, the bifurcation is a useful one.

[48] For fuller descriptions of Hempel's terminology see his *Aspects of Scientific Explanation* New York, The Free Press 1965. Formally (L_1 ... Ln) plus (C_1 ... Cn) → deduction of E (explanadnum) The form of logic is, then, nomological, which can for Hempel be either deductive (strong form) or inductive (weak form).

[49] Hempel, C., 'The Logic of Functional Analysis', Brodbeck, *Readings..* p. 181.

[50] Ibid., p. 194. To be fair Merton, at least, recognized the possibility of functional substitutes of institutions or units of a system. See Merton Social.. Pp. 86 - 91, 106 - 108.

[51] Here Hempel again cites Radcliffe-Brown Structure.. p. 183: "a society that is thrown into a condition of functional disunity or inconsistency ... will not die except in .. comparatively rare instances ..., but will continue to struggle toward ... some kind of social health."

[52] Hempel, 'The Logic..', p. 199 citing the work of H.A. Murray and C. Kluckhohn on personality.

[53] Bottomore, T. and Nisbet, R., 'Structuralism', Bottomore and Nisbet A History.. p. 591.

[54] See Kolakowski, L., 'Althusser's Marx' The Socialist Register 1971, p. 124.

[55] Giddens, A., Central Problems in Social Theory Macmillan 1979, p. 75. See also Blauberg, I.V., Sadovsky, V.N., and Yudin, E.G., Systems Theory. Philosophical and Methodological Problems. Moscow, Progress Publishers 1977.

[56] Eggleston, J., (ed.) Contemporary Research in the Sociology of Education Methuen 1974, p. 7.

[57] By which is meant an emphasis on the imposition of meaning, with a stress on interaction. In this way it is particularly concerned with the disposition of, and access to, power which is distinct from the functionalist concept of social control. See Dawe, 'The Two Sociologies' British Journal of Sociology XXI, 2, 1970.

[58] Young M.F.D., Knowledge and Control Collier-Macmillan 1971 p. 3. "Today it is the commonsense conceptions of the 'scientific' and the 'rational', together with the various social, political and educational beliefs, that are assumed to follow from them that represent the dominant legitimizing categories." Ibid.

[59] See, for example, the critical introduction to Karabel, J., and Halsey, A.H., Power and Ideology in Education, Oxford University Press 1979. See Bernbaum, G., Knowledge and Ideology in the Sociology of Education Macmillan 1977, pp. 17 - 19 for the assessment that functionalism was not the sole or whole feature of research in sociology of education of the post-war period.

[60] Hans, N., 'Functionalism in Comparative Education', International Review of Education, 10, 1, 1964.

[61] See Woock, R., 'Integrated Social Theory and Comparative Education', International Review of Education, 27, 4, 1981.

[62] Hans 'Functionalism', p. 94.

[63] Ibid., p. 96.

[64] The use of terms such as 'underdeveloped' or 'developing', is itself a demonstration of a unilinear evolutionary path for national development, as we shall presently detail. For the functionalist basis of post-war modernization research in general see, for example, the dependence upon Parsons' Pattern variables in Almond, G.A. and Coleman, J. S., The Politics of the Developing Areas Princeton, Princeton U.P. 1960.

[65] McClelland D. C., The Achieving Society D. Van Nostrand Co. 1961. For another, if brief, assessment of the functionalist basis for modernization theory, see Tipps, D.C. "Modernization Theory and the Comparative Study of Societies: A critical perspective", Comparative Studies in Society and History, 15, 2, 1973.

[66] McClelland, The Achieving.. p. 49.

[67] Ibid., p. 173.

[68] Ibid., p. 174.

[69] Ibid., p. 416.

[70] Ibid., p. 416.

[71] Coombs, P. H., The World Educational Crisis. A Systems Analysis, Oxford University Press, 1968, p. 8.

[72] Ibid., p. 10.

[73] Ibid., p. 10.

[74] Ibid., p. 8.

[75] Ibid., p. 8.

[76] Ibid., p. 9.

[77] Ibid., p. 8.

[78] Ibid., pp. 8 - 9.

[79] Ibid., p. 9.

[80] Ibid., p. 35.

[81] Ibid., p. 35.

[82] As we have argued before, Feyerabend's strictures on non-hegemonic forms of decision making, and the restriction of open discussions to within the parameters of instrumental reason afford much the same critique. I have focussed here only on the analysis of teachers in Coombs, but the examination of other 'resource inputs', 'outputs', manpower, management, or costs and efficiency would not negate the basic critique offered in this paper.

[83] Harbison, F., and Myers, C. A. Education, Manpower and Economic Growth McGraw Hill 1964. The same perspective is equally evident in the introductory section of their subsequent Manpower and Education McGraw Hill 1965. See the foreword of the former work, page v, for the claim of the work to be a blueprint for action.

[84] Harbison and Myers, Manpower.., p.ix. The economist upon whose views the analysis depends, is given as T.W. Schultz, in particular his work on investment in human capital.

[85] Ibid.p. ix; see also p. xi for expressed aims of "building an effective strategy for human resource development.."

[86] See Harbison and Myers, Education.., Pp. 3 et seq. where the 'economic analysis of investment in man' is considered in terms of major economists' views on the subject, and theoretical attempts to tease out the (residual) contribution to economic growth of investment in education.

[87] Ibid., p. 1.

[88] Inter alia, Carnoy, M., Education as Cultural Imperialism, 1974; Altbach, P., and Kelly, G. Education and Colonialism, 1978; Arnove, R., Altbach, P., and Kelly, G., Comparative Education, 1982; and Arnove, R. Philanthropy as Cultural Imperialism: The Foundations at Home and Abroad, 1980.

[89] Kelly, G. P., Altbach, P. G., and Arnove, R. F., 'Trends in Comparative Education: A Critical Analysis', in Altbach, P.G., Arnove, R. F., and Kelly, G. P., Comparative Education Collier Macmillan 1982, p. 516. The link here to earlier functionalist studies of other cultures alluded to in this paper is obvious. See references to Durkheim's treatment of Australian aboriginal society and Almond and Coleman's use of Parsons' pattern variables, above.

[90] To borrow the title of yet another work in the field, Inkeles, A., and Smith, D. A., Becoming Modern, Heinemann, London 1974. These authors were still trying to define the 'modern man' in the same year as Martin Carnoy's Education as Cultural Imperialism was being published. Moreover, their concept of modern man viewed him as necessarily linked to large-scale productive enterprises, and with an increased faith in 'science and related remedies'. The basic unit of learning in the work of Inkeles and Smith, seemed to be the factory. For the above views, see chapter two, especially Pp. 19, 28 et passim.

[91] See Kelly, Altbach and Arnove 'Trends in ..', Pp. 506, 515 that modernization theory was one of the major theoretical foundations for comparative education in the 1960s and early 1970s.

[92] Although wrongly, as Feyerabend argues. Science is not a matter of technical-rational rules.

93 Apple, M. W. Ideology and Curriculum Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979.

94 Willis, P., Learning to Labour. How Working Class Kids get Working Class Jobs, Gower Publishing Co. Ltd., 1980 (1977).

95 Matthews, M., The Marxist Theory of Schooling, Brighton Harvester, 1980.

96 Karabel, J., and Halsey, A., (Eds) Power and Ideology in Education Oxford University Press, 1977.

97 Apple, M. W., Cultural and Economic Reproduction in Education Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982.

COMPARATIVE EDUCATION: PHOENIX OR DODO?

BARRY A. SHEEHAN

I hope I might be forgiven for breaking with what has always appeared to me to be a rather ridiculous academic convention (designed to convey the full flavour of "objectivity" or "neutrality"?) by writing this paper in the first person. In 1982, in the presidential address to the Australian Comparative and International Education Society,[1] I drew out several long-standing concerns I have about Comparative and International Education. While I was gratified that my comments were provocative - to judge from the post-session arguments which ensued - I was disturbed that at least a few people either felt threatened by my remarks or categorized me as a cynic or pessimist, of which I am neither.

Consequently, I have chosen to follow through on my earlier comments by interpreting and applying the conference theme in an idiosyncratic way. The them is, of course, "The contribution of comparative and international studies to the theory and practice of education", and it raises for me the question as to whether I (and those few scholars I know who would actually respond to the question, "What do you do for a living?" by answering, "I'm in Comparative Education?) have been wasting our time. Quite frankly, I must admit to being ambivalent about that, for while I am fairly convinced that Comparative and International Education have a great deal to offer in terms of our understanding of educational structures, processes, change and societal functions, I do not think it has come close or yet shows signs of coming close, to fulfilling that potential.

That is not to suggest that I might justifiably re-title this paper "Reflections on a Useless Life" or "Is Comparative Education Worth the Paper It's Written On?" because not only am I convinced about the potential of Comparative and International Studies, but I enjoy, in the active, pleasurable sense, my involvement in the field. "I'm in Comparative Education" may not have quite the ring to it of "I'm in oil" or even, perhaps, "I'm a sociologist". On the other hand, the field is not really bedevilled by the tag of "discipline", and while at one level we do more than our share of endless searching for conceptual needles in theoretical haystacks, comparativists always have the immediate challenge and gratification of cross-cultural contact, and of seeking meaning on a number of levels.

Certainly, a lot of what passes for Comparative and International Education probably is a waste of the paper it's written on, but then so is a lot of what passes for sociology, philosophy, economics, journalism and the rest. (In passing, I wonder whether the increasing problem of print-pollution might be solved if the publish-or-perish syndrome were to be replaced by a rule which limited each academic writer to one published 7,000 word paper each year. "Please write for supporting materials"). But much of the writing - whether descriptive/analytical, methodological, theoretical or comparative - is of assistance in sensitizing, informing and challenging our understandings. I therefore skim as widely as I can: it is a rare book or paper or thesis which adds nothing to one's thinking. It is probably a curiosity to some of my colleagues that, despite all the wonderful radical critiques and emergent (or resurgent) theories around these days, I also still insist that my students read the good ole structural-functionalists and come to grips with the way those writers see and interpret the world before they examine a range of alternatives and critiques. This is simply to establish a "bench-mark" against which competing assumptions and interpretations can be reviewed: a stable backdrop of critique piled upon critique and a measure of the semantic gamespersonship of academia. To quote from a long-forgotten source:

> Once you know "where it's at" you can be sure that it's not there any more. Positivism, interactionism, structuralism, phenomenology, ethnomethodology and political economy have each been "in", only to be as quickly "out". Durkheim, Weber, Althusser, Schultz, Cicourel and Gintis have each staggered on to the stage only to be cried down before their conceptual stripping act was complete. The epistemic community (or sodality of sociologists) has been like a group of young prostitutes each so worried about her uplift that her basic client relationship is ignored. The productive endeavour has been unproductivity with the latest paper, which presents a political economic critique of the ethnomethodological extension of phenomenology's disucssion of the structuralist attack on the interactionist restatement of positivism guaranteed of at least five rejoinders.

To the extent that Comparative and International Education has allowed itself to get caught up in the game, it has risked self-inflicted destruction. And this is where I take issue with those whose consuming passion is methodology. In this connection, however, I am not prepared to agree with Laska that there are "questions much more basic than methodology".[2] Laska does not appear to recognize that the questions to which he addresses himself - as to whether comparative education is a professional or an academic (scholarly) field; whether it constitutes an independent academic field or a dependent one (having just decided that it is not an academic field at all, but a professional one); and whether, as a dependent field (the obvious response to the previous question), on which academic (read "respectable"?) field is it dependent? - are very largely contingent upon the theoretical and methodological underpinnings of the enterprise. And it does strike me as inconsistent that, having dismissed comparative studies of education as dependent, Laska then labels "foundations of education" as a "discipline", when, by the criteria he employed to "torpedo" comparative education, foundations are clearly equally dependent, and for that reason create, at best, a sub-discipline, or more accurately, a branch of many disciplines, forming a composite around the given focus on education as an institution. But I do not really care what we call it.

In my view, better data and more imaginative theory are extremely important, and we should not view progress in research as a reflection of increasing methodological rigour alone, but I am nevertheless inclined to believe that the "identity" crisis of comparative education is, at bottom, a crisis of methodology.

While comparative education does not have the elements of a public paradigm on the Kuhn model, there are perhaps possibilities for a quasi-paradigm developed around a set of dimensions such as those suggested by Holt and Richardson[3] indicating the rules of interpretation, the puzzle defining aspects, criteria of admissability, the ontological-predictive element and the conceptual and theoretical elements. Clearly, methodological issues can never be resolved unless there is a close articulation between theory building and methodology. So it is not the concern with methodology which I am challenging here. What continues to disturb me is the tendency of our most eminent methodologists (for whom I have the highest personal and professional respect, incidentally) to neglect the applied dimensions of their work, which has stemmed, for the most part, from philosophy of science. There is a sense in which the philosopher of science or the 'pure' methodologist stands in the same relation to the 'field' as the theatre critic to the realities of the theatre.

We are deluding ourselves if we believe that reliability, precision and certitude can be attained by the application of specified techniques. Social scientists have to deal with multiple-parameter systems in which interactions between components are complex and over-perturbed. I therefore sympathize rather more with the researcher who tackles the issues, who tries to come to grips with the problems of research in the field, than with the methodological critic who takes it apart *ex post facto*. Again, I am not suggesting that methodology or theory are unimportant - indeed, I tire of explaining to my students that *all* research embodies theory and methodology (good or bad), and the problem is to explicate them.

A related difficulty with my view (i.e. a further area of ambivalence), is that a great deal of research in many areas has become conditioned to a peculiarly instrumental and opportunistic orientation through which much professional activity is channelled into a service function which is largely controlled by national and international funding agencies.

Most research involves expense, and funds are difficult to come by in the institutions to which we are normally limited. This means that in seeking funds wer have to think in terms not only of what will appeal to the funding agencies, and have to tailor submissions in relation to guidelines which may not be at all sympathetic to the kinds of work we wish to do, but we must also pander to the political/power realities of the money brokers. And that results, I think, in many of us being either forced to prostitute ourselves to these demands or to change our primary fields of interest.

Interestingly, our(?) most highly visible achievement, which embodies all the problems of methodology and this instrumental orientation, has been on the road for well over a decade now.

> Significantly some of the first initiatives came from American scholars and were backed by American funds. Europe initiated and Europe financed studies have so far been few and far between. Perhaps the happiest example of a jointly financed and cooperatively planned international study is the [I.E.A. project]: this was planned at the UNESCO Institute of Education in Hamburg, and financed by the U.S. Office of Education (for the international costs of project) and by national funding agencies in [various] countries (for the field operations). This project constitutes a model of international academic cooperation: it shows that it is possible to achieve solid results through the sharing of responsibilities across many national teams and it shows how UNESCO and other international bodies can perform an important brokerage function in linking up American and European initiatives.[4]

Of course, I would be the last to pose questions about I.E.A., the answers to which might reflect poorly upon the comparative education community at large - e.g. apart from a few "heavies", who largely devised and coordinated the project, how many of the people involved are comparative educationists? My observations indicate very few. Most have been statisticians, psychometricians, educational psychologists, subject-specialists, etc. (It is possible now, however, that comparativists will use the data to advantage). Second, how do you feed a habit like that? I estimate the international costs of I.E.A. to be in excess of $10 million). At the Western States Comparative and International Society Conference, Snowbird, Utah, October 17-19, 1974, Postlethwaite described the I.E.A. study as "the advent of large scale empirical studies" in comparative education. That may well be true, but there are some big questions to be asked before we become too enthusiastic about launching ourselves in that direction. Chiefly, of course, there is the problem of how we get logically from broad theoretical formulations to indicated empirical research. Masses of data have been collected in education. We seem to have counted almost everything we can count, and a lot of things we can't. And much of this data is interlaced either with generally contested assumptions or with unidentified and often unrecognized normative judgments.

A.C. MacIntyre, in reflecting upon whether a science of comparative politics is possible, illustrates aspects of this point very clearly.

> There was once a man who aspired to be the author of the general theory of holes. When asked 'What kind of hole - holes dug by children in the sand for amusement, holes dug by gardeners to plant lettuce seedlings, tank traps, holes made by roadmakers?' he would reply indignantly that he wished for a general theory that would explain all of these. He rejected ab initio the - as he saw it - pathetically common-sense view that of the digging of different kinds of holes there are quite different kinds of explanations to be given; why then he would ask do we have the concept of a hole? Lacking the explanations to which he originally aspired, he then fell to discovering statistically significant correlations; he found for example that there is a correlation between the aggregate hole-digging achievement of a society as measured, or at least one day to be measured, by econometric techniques, and its degree of technological development. The United States surpasses both Paraguay and Upper Volta in hole digging. He also discovered that war accelerates hole digging; there are more holes in Vietnam than there were. These observations, he would always insist, were neutral and value-free. This man's achievement has passed totally unnoticed except by me. Had he however turned his talents to political science, had he concerned himself not with holes, but with modernisation, urbanisation or violence, I find it difficult to believe that he might not have achieved high office in the American Political Science Association.[9]

The I.E.A. study is, then, subject to the standard critique of empiricism. Frankly, I prefer my empiricism to come a little cheaper. The major difficulty I find with the quasi-scientific approach, even in smaller studies, is that the research is necessarily forced to jettison a whole range of variables which are not measurable and which may well have more explanatory power than those which are retained as elements of the research. That is a necessary feature of quantitative studies which leads to one of the curiosities of research in that its focus tends to concentrate on partial areas of immediate concern, which in turn come to be defined as the whole field. Furthermore, the approach leads us to theories of educational phenomena which, are after all, little more than specialized vocabularies for description in which the emphasis is placed on gathering data and subjecting them to various analytical routines to determine their interrelationships; the interrelationships are as important in this thinking as any meaning which is to be derived from them.

I have yet to be convinced that the I.E.A. studies have yielded anything which is of much use to teachers, researchers, policy makers or administrators. I have managed to wade my way through several of the publications emerging from the research and as I finish each one I am left with the unanswerable question, "So what?" What we do seem to have is evidence of a massive and extremely expensive exercise in the self perpetuation of number-crunching. The numbers themselves tend to be meaningless, the interpretations naive and of little utility. To argue about levels of mathematical achievement or literacy or mastery of French in one country as against another tells us very little about the important features of those observations. Even the earliest comparative educators, perhaps with the exception of a few who (like Mann) had a bowerbird approach, knew that such observations taken out of their cultural context, removed from their realm of meaning within this context, and which did not address any clearly identifiable issue with which the observer was concerned in his home country, were next to useless. Good comparative educators - and there are a few about - might have been able to explain the limitations of the kind of research that was envisaged and might have been able to put the research into different and more meaningful contexts. Most of the people involved were so busy isolating the "measurable" variables, creating relationships and rotating their orthogonals that they had little time to consider meaning. To accept that somebody is good at counting (as Peaker, Posthelwaite, Finn, Keeves, et al. indisputably are), is not to agree that they know what to count or when to stop counting and start thinking. Statisticians keep implying that if you can't measure it, you don't know what it is. I am more worried about the converse corallary that if you do measure it, you do know what it is! It is equally clear, however, that those of us who adopt the so-called "naturalistic" methodologies, while we may achieve a much higher level of personal awareness and understanding, also have few generalizable insights to offer.

The net result of these difficulties, which are not unique to comparativists, of course, is that it is unquestionably easier to adopt a cosily consistent ideological position and be a critic rather than a performer - if you can stand it. But we all know now that life wasn't meant to be easy and my optimism stems from the belief that there will always be more performers than critics. The performers are well aware that theoretical or methodological breakthroughs are highly unlikely in this age of incremental expansion, but as long as the occasional increment is there, they will press on.

It seems necessary at this point to rehearse the distinction between comparative education and international education, to which I have referred jointly, but not interchangeably. Whereas international education is concerned with the dynamics of interaction between cultures and countries in relation to what goes on in schools and to the interdependence of schools and other social institutions, and may be concerned with modes of action, comparative education reflects the effort to set together 'systems' of educational phenomena. In this sense, international education is the field concerned with choice and action its methods leading to defensible decisions, in contrast to comparative education, the theoretic, which is concerned with knowledge leading to warranted (and hopefully more generalizable) conclusions.[6] Fischer is, in a sense, implying the same point when he argues that:

> ... comparative methodologies and meaningful cross-cultural comparisons have not emerged and are not likely to be produced from professional and practical education. The academic social sciences, on the other hand, have a natural interest in defining and testing comparison.[7]

Although much comparative education research emerges from and should feed back into professional and practical education, the widespread failure to 'follow-through' at the critical point - i.e. at the point of actually comparing - has left the discipline to some extent in limbo:

> ... insofar as investigators actually prefer the by-products of quanta of information or concept validation to the main goal of explanation, they are settling for second best.[8]

It may well be that international and comparative education, unable to recruit the omnicompetent scholars required by Bereday,[9] and brought to a rather unhappy state of affairs by inveterate and unexamined reliance on theory, could well become moribund, unable by its present methods and principles to continue its work meaningfully.

Again, the problem is not that theory per se is inappropriate, but that the methodologies extant are inadequate to the task which the field sets them.

The second aspect of my presidential address to cause concern was simply a further expression of an ambivalence I share with many of my colleagues. Hundreds upon hundreds of "experts" in education, some describing themselves as comparative and/or international educationists, have been working in the field, e.g. in Third World countries, as teachers, consultants, researchers, advisers and planners. Many of these "experts" fall into Campbell's over-advocacy trap - that is, they give advice or "solve" problems with an assurance quite out of keeping with the scientific status of the subject, and to exacerbate the situation they often fail to be interested in finding out what happens when their advice is followed.[10] Campbell's cop-out statement that the job of what he calls "the methodologist" for the experimenting society is not to say what is to be done, but rather to say what has been done, thus giving "neutral" advice to the decision-making politicians, is unrealistic. But for those functioning as comparative or international educationists perhaps it should be equally unacceptable to espouse as their main goals such objectives as: (i) the production of an East-West synthesized value system (in which "superior" Western values remain dominant; (ii) the production of leaders and skilled workers; (iii) the orderly dissemination and assimilation of attitudes which will assist in the "development" process; (iv) the training of specialists (e.g. educational planners) in the wealthy Western nations who are able to impart Western techniques; (v) the provision of consultancy services (often through which the concentrated services of a university can be used to grapple with specific development problems); and so on. This is not to claim that these goals are not important for developing countries, but simply to point out that they tend to be assumed by the West rather than analyzed or defended, allowing unsupported biases to slip undetected into 'descriptive' research. The implied prescriptions are often incomplete, inconsistent and misused. Examples are to be found in the goals of development and, more particularly, educational development. In providing even qualified support for the conventional Western theories and techniques of development, even with the best intentions, we tend to perpetuate dependency and exploitative relationships.

The economists, particularly, have been responsible for the growth syndrome by perpetrating the notion that economic theory is central to economic life, whereas it is patently obvious that economic growth or decline take place quite independently of theoretical notions. Of all the gospels that European man has felt compelled to teach to others, the one concerned with the increase of wealth has most readily captured the ear and the imagination of mankind. Whereas Christianity and parliamentary democracy have won converts in the world only by displacing other powerful ideas, the acceptance of European economic tenets (and especially the doctrine that through the application of science and technology - capital formation - man can lift himself from poverty to a position to determine his economic lot) almost seems to have filled some kind of vacuum. Equally clearly, however, the European colonizers created the vacuum which they then set out to fill!

Our chief export is the notion that our cultural environment (including our educational, social and political institutions) represents "development" and that the cultural environment of the (the often all-too-willing) importing countries represents "underdevelopment". Clearly, our notion of cultural superiority is exemplified by material well-being. I seem to recall that Ghandi, when he was asked what he thought about Western civilization, replied that he thought it would be a good idea!

The level of thinking which accepts the differences between ourselves and the people of the third world as having historical cause, and therefore as relative; which accepts our material dominance and our materialist outlook as proof of our cultural superiority; which accepts the historical progression through which the west has come as the inevitable course of progression for the third world, is the most devastating form of imperialism. The idea that our culture is superior because it was carried by the people of North Atlantic to their colonies across the globe is cultural jingoism.

The acknowledgement of these assumptions about underdevelopment implies the rejection of a series of development models which grew out of theoretical assumptions about the process of economic growth.

Myrdal summarizes the point nicely:

> Our main point is that while in the Western world an analysis in "economic" terms - markets and prices, employment and unemployment, consumption and savings, investment and output - that abstracts from the modes and levels of living and from attitudes, institutions and culture may make sense and lead to valid inferences, an analagous procedure plainly does not in underdeveloped countries ... The newest attempts to anlayse, education (and health) in terms of "investment in man" do not even state the problem in a rational way.[11]

This is not the appropriate place to debate the appropriateness of expressions such as third world, development, modern, backward, etc., but we should also acknowledge that "our languaging process is fully implicated in any and all of our attempts to assess reality".[12]

The role of education in the development process has until recently been complementary to other economic applications and, as such, it has been consistently described as quantitative, formal, institutionalized, and directed towards occupational training.

One of the basic problems, of course, is that the school, particularly at the secondary level, often exists in isolation from its cultural context and produces a product - i.e. a student - who is adapted neither to the traditional culture nor to the needs of a modern industrial society. The philosophy upon which the schools are based, the subject matter offered, the pedagogical methods employed, and sometimes the background of the staff, all contribute to this apparent dysfunctionality.

It is thus apparent that formal education is dysfunctional in its contribution to the solution of broad social and economic problems except for the training of a relatively small number of students in the elitist tradition who take up key positions in government, business and industry.

Clearly, education is a colonial relationship: we can view the teacher as the colonizer of the minds of his pupils just as we can view the dominance-dependency relationship between wealthy and poor countries as colonizing, or neo-imperialistic. While, in intellectual terms, we may now claim to "know better", we are surely tending towards a different kind of patronizing relationship, but the implications are similar - that is, in our new-found wisdom, we are still telling developing countries what they should be doing - or at least that they should not be following the "developed West" into its military-industrial quagmire. This too is imperialism: less exploitative, less harmful, less domineering, but equally a form of intellectual colonisation with wide-ranging social, economic and cultural implications. Having led many countries to the brink of the quagmire already, can we still claim the moral superiority which is implied when we try to tell others what their aspirations should be?
As I have said elsewhere:

> It is unquestionably easier for groups of people in the developed countries who are reacting against the consumer rat-race to take up their well-thumbed Whole Earth Catalogues and opt out of the system against which they have become inured, than it is for people who are looking forward to but have not yet tasted the "benefits' of mass consumption to do the same thing. And it would be extremely difficult, without totalitarian mechanisms controlling the information channels, to persuade them that they should reject the values of the competitive consumer society.[13]

In most countries, even those which have attempted to revamp the role and image of the school, such as Tanzania (in earlier days), Cuba and the Peoples Republic of China, where the model of development has been radically indiginized, there continues to be faith in the schools as a necessary if not sufficient condition for development, which is a difficult position ot refute. All it is saying, in effect, is that schools are geared to socialise youngsters into the dominant culture, and that schools reflect group aspirations. Short of deschooling, it is little short of ridiculous to imagine the institutionalized school or even non-formal education doing anything else.

So we seem to keep coming back to a basic query, which is "are we asking the right questions?" Clearly we are not (although this does not presuppose that we know what the right questions are).

There would probably be fairly substantial agreement that the basic problem in the developing world today is poverty, while there would certainly be substantial disagreement about the causes of that poverty. A primary correlate (whether as a dependent or an independent variable or both) is population. Population growth is hampering all attempts to develop in terms of the traditional development model. Despite the massive campaigns of the so-called Development Decades to eradicate illiteracy in

Africa, for example, since the Addis conference, there are now more illiterates in absolute terms than ever before. If it looks like a losing battle, perhaps it is because the battle is against the wrong enemy. Again we are forced to ask "What are the prior questions?" The situation also highlights the important questions about expert input from the West raised above.

This emphasizes a difficult dilemma, in that it is the very experiences shared by workers in the international field which provide much of the grist for the mill of comparative and international studies. Herein, I would suggest, lies the resolution of the dilemma: more study of educational phenomena in other countries, and less advice, could renew an old and, I am convinced, valid function for comparative and international education. The melioristic aims of the pioneers - Jullien, Cousin, Sadler, Harris, Arnold and others - led them to enterprises in selective cultural espionage. What I would argue for now - given that we know a great deal more about the dangers of uncritical borrowing - is an approach to the systematic study of the educational problems and proposed solutions of other countries and cultures in terms of the difficulties we diagnose in our own culture. In other words, our work should be directed towards the betterment of our own education, just as others would be free to study and learn from what we do.

Unfortunately, there is no code of ethics in the "development business" which will prevent experts from plying their trade throughout the third world, and equally unfortunately, as I have emphasized, the production of educational systems and thought patterns can be seen to take effect in the developed countries, while the consumption of these patterns takes place in the developing countries. But if we were to stop actively interfering, then at least developing countries could make more realistic choices. The elements of imperialism will remain, for the elites of the Third World have not been slow to grasp the significance of the role of institutionalized education as a social control mechanism, and the West would certainly remain the focus of study for much of the third world, but there are moral differences (for comparative/international education) in terms of who is imposing what upon whom.

As I pointed out earlier, this is an ambivalence-creating situation which we tend to discuss at a higher level of valuation than we tend to operate. I have worked in developing countires (as a vehicle for sensitizing and informing myself at first had of the prevailing problems and attitudes), and I have no doubt I shall do so again, but the problem remains, and does not simply go away by saying, "If I did not accept this [job, consultancy, etc.] then someone else, probably worse, would".

What I have tried to do in this "letter from home" is explore some of the tensions, both intellectual and at the level of feeling, of the practising comparativist. It is my firm belief that the tensions in the discipline, or than in the individual, are not going to be resolved by intellectual and ideological gamesmanship, so much as by a general recognition of what is tantamount to a moral position in terms of what we can and cannot do.

There are very few people around these days who are "comparativists", although there are many who adopt comparative dimensions in thier work on curriculum, higher education, etc. Whether those of us who are left will go the way of the dodo, or whether comparative and international studies will rise from the ashes depends in large measure upon the ways in which we come to grips with some of the issues raised in this paper.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Sheehan, Barry A. Presidential Address to the Australian Comparative and International Education Society, 1982. ACIES Newsletter, March 1983, pp.16-23.

2. Laska, John. "The future of comparative education: three basic questions". *Comparative Education Review* XVII(3), 1973: 295.

3. Holt, Robert and John Richardson. "Competing paradigms in comparative politics". In R. Holt and J. Turned (eds.), *The Methodology of Comparative Research*, New York: Free Press, 1970: 31-71.

4. Rokkan, Stein, *et al*. *Comparative Survey Analysis*, The Hague: Mouton, 1969.

5. MacIntyre, A.C. "Is a science of comparative politics possible?" In P. Lewis and D. Potter (eds.), *The Practice of Comparative Politics*. London: Longman, 1973: 219.

6. "Comparative" and "international" specialista are often the same people, but conceptually, at least it is important to know which hat one is wearing at any given time.

7. Fischer, Joseph (ed.). *The Social Sciences and the Comparative Study of Educational Systems*, Scranton, Pa.: International Textbook Company, 1970: 14.

8. Noah, Harold and Max Eckstein. *Toward a Science of Comparative Education*, New York: Macmillan, 1969: 187.

9. Bereday, George. *Comparative Method in Education*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964.

10. Campbell, Donald. "The social scientist as methodological servant of the experimenting society", *Policy Studies Journal*, II(1), Autumn, 1973: 72.

11. Myrdal, Gunnar. *Asian Drama*, (3 vols.) Harmondsworth, Mx.: Penguin, 1968, vol.1: 19-20.

12. Postman, Neil and C. Weingartner. *Teaching as a Subversive Activity*. Harmondsworth, Mx.: Penguin, 1971: 101.

13. Sheehan, Barry A. "The vanishing school". In E. Barrington-Thomas (ed.) *Papua New Guinea Education*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1976: 91.

EDUCATIONAL GERONTOLOGY: AN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

DAVID BATTERSBY

INTRODUCTION

In the first part of this paper, brief attention will be given to the changing demographic structure in various regions of the world, and in particular the dramatic increases in the proportion of the over-60's in the world's population will be highlighted. By way of illustration, reference will be made to changes in the age structure of Australia and New Zealand in recent years. Against this background, the second part of the paper will focus briefly on the educational needs of the elderly (those over 60 years) and this will be followed by a discussion of the educational provisions and policies for the elderly. Here, discussion will focus *inter alia* on legislative support for educational programmes for the elderly, the elder hostel system in the United States universities du troisième age in Europe and the Wider Horizons programme in New Zealand. The paper will conclude with a prediction that the elderly will increasingly become less satisfied with nature trips, bingo and arty-crafty activities and will seek, and most likely demand, those rights to education that most of us have taken for granted.

DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS

The impact of aging, or as Dobman[1] has phrased it, 'the greying of nations', has been dramatic during this century. At the turn of the century a life expectancy of about 50 years was common in most industrial countries, while today 70 years is about the normal life span in western industrialised countries. Taking Australia as an example, the extent of this change is shown in the Table 1 which provides details obtained from each Australian census from 1901 to 1976 of persons aged 65 and over as a percentage of the total population. It can be seen from this table that in Australia the proportion of elderly people in the population increased quite dramatically during the first six decades of this century and that in recent times the percentage has remained relatively constant. A similar trend has also occurred in New Zealand, as Hyslop reports:

> The proportion of people aged 60 years and over in New Zealand's population had doubled since the turn of the century - from under 7 percent in 1901 to just over 14 percent in 1981. One in seven New Zealanders is now aged over 60.[3]

TABLE 1

Census Data on Aging in Australia[2]

% of	1901	1911	1921	1933	1947	1954	1961	1966	1971	1976
Females 65 & Over to total females	3.61	4.20	4.38	6.59	8.67	9.25	9.82	10.01	9.75	10.03
Males 65 & Over to total males	4.31	4.34	4.48	6.38	7.37	7.37	7.23	7.09	6.97	7.04
Persons 65 & Over to total persons	3.98	4.27	4.43	6.48	8.05	8.30	8.51	8.54	8.35	8.09
Persons 65 & Over to total workforce	9.29	9.91	10.76	15.66	19.09	20.15	21.17	20.31	19.98	19.09
Persons 65 & Over to persons 15-64	5.59	6.72	6.92	9.81	12.03	12.14	13.89	13.75	13.40	13.80

Besides Australia and New Zealand, other countries have experienced increases in the proportion of elderly people in their population. A recently published UNESCO report highlights this:

> Among the most remarkable developments...are those which have taken place in the Eastern European Countries, where the number of elderly people has increased dramatically over the last 15-20 years. For example, between 1960 and 1976, the number of persons aged 60 and above rose by 600,000 (61 percent) in Bulgaria and by 500,000 (37 percent) in Hungary; in Poland there was a twofold increase in this group and in Romania a threefold increase.[4]

Even more dramatic, however, are the predictions for future changes in the proportion of elderly people in society. Gehmacher provides an insight here:

> Between 1970 and the year 2000, France is expected to have a 29 percent increase in its population of over 65 and 42 percent increase for those over 80, and 122 percent increase for its population over 85... In the United States from 1975 to 2000 the 55-64 age group will increase by 16 percent, the 65-74 group by 23 percent and those over 75 years and above will increase by 60 percent.[5]

A further illustration of the trends to which Gehmacher refers can be seen in the following table which gives the percentage of the New Zealand population designated as elderly for 1951-1981 and the projected estimates for 1991-2001.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

TABLE 2

Elderly Persons Aged 60 and Over: 1951-2001

	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
Men	122,734	133,045	159,446	195,830	205,700	241,440
Women	133,236	161,859	198,578	251,790	286,200	298,950
Total	255,970	294,904	358,024	447,620	491,900	540,390
% of pop	13.2	12.2	12.5	14.1	14.3	14.9

On a worldwide basis, demographic data suggest that while the total population is expected to treble between 1950 and 2025, there is predicted to be a fivefold increase in the over-60's age group. The following table gives a breakdown in the expected increases in the proportion of over-60's in the world's population between the years 1975-2025:

TABLE 3

The Over-60's: 1975-2025

Region	% pop over 60 in 1975	% pop over 60 in 2025
North America	14.6%	22.3%
Latin America	6.3%	10.8%
Europe	17.4%	24.7%
USSR	13.4%	20.1%
Africa	4.9%	6.6%
East Asia	8.2%	19.6%
South Asia	5.0%	10.9%
Oceania	11.1%	17.8%

It appears that two well-established trends are responsible for this change in the population structure: decline in birth rates and an increase in life expectancy. The United Nations Population Division reports that worldwide birth rates are expected to be cut by half between 1950 and 2025 and that the average life expectancy is predicted to rise from 47 to 70 years. Indeed, it seems that the centuries old trend of the very young outnumbering the old (e.g. in 1950 there were nearly two under fives for every one person over 60) will not be overturned and that by 2025 those over 60 years will outnumber those under five years of age by two to one.

The above data, then, provides a cursory insight into both worldwide and Australasian trends relating to the proportion of elderly in society. While the economic and social effects of these trends have captured some attention (see, for example, Howe[8] and Dobman[9]), the educational implications of an aging population have received little consideration. In the next section of this paper, brief mention will be made of the educational needs of the elderly and this will be followed by several examples of how some of these needs are being met.

THE ELDERLY AND EDUCATION

Probably the two most prominent theorists to speculate about the educational needs of the elderly have been Havighurst[10] and McClusky[11].

According to Havighurst, a person's life cycle is comprised of a series of diminant concerns, each of which governs the behaviour of a person. Three of the eight dominant concerns identified by Havighurst relate directly to the elderly. The first of these, maintaining position and changing roles (Age 50-60) is described by Havighurst in the following way:

> By this age the situation of the individual is definitely losing its earlier advantages. Starting with a decline of physical strength and skill and attractiveness in the early 50's the body becomes less and less favourable for the operation of ego.[12]

This is a plateau period for most people in terms of their power, influence and productivity. Also, during this decade, men and women are likely to assume roles as grandparents and may consequently recognise that the future seems a short period of time in which there may not be time to do everything planned for in earlier decades. Accordingly, to Havighurst, the secret of competence during the 50 to 60 age period seems to lie in the changing of one's roles to take advantage of increased experience as well as to avoid the disadvantages that may accrue from decreased physical vigor and attractiveness. As to the implications for education, Havighurst is less sure:

> Adult education has yet to discover its mission for people in their 50's. In addition to providing for the self-initiating learners, probably it should search for ways of helping people to get perspective on themselves and their careers, and to make the role changes that lead to increased effectiveness and happiness.[13]

The next stage in Havighurst's life cycle conceptualisation is the 60-70 age group - deciding whether to disengage and how. During this decade, men and women in the workforce generally lose their job, through either

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

TABLE 2

Elderly Persons Aged 60 and Over: 1951-2001

	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
Men	122,734	133,045	159,446	195,830	205,700	241,440
Women	133,236	161,859	198,578	251,790	286,200	298,950
Total	255,970	294,904	358,024	447,620	491,900	540,390
% of pop	13.2	12.2	12.5	14.1	14.3	14.9

On a worldwide basis, demographic data suggest that while the total population is expected to treble between 1950 and 2025, there is predicted to be a fivefold increase in the over-60's age group. The following table gives a breakdown in the expected increases in the proportion of over-60's in the world's population between the years 1975-2025:

TABLE 3

The Over-60's: 1975-2025

Region	% pop over 60 in 1975	% pop over 60 in 2025
North America	14.6%	22.3%
Latin America	6.3%	10.8%
Europe	17.4%	24.7%
USSR	13.4%	20.1%
Africa	4.9%	6.6%
East Asia	8.2%	19.6%
South Asia	5.0%	10.9%
Oceania	11.1%	17.8%

It appears that two well-established trends are responsible for this change in the population structure: decline in birth rates and an increase in life expectancy. The United Nations Population Division reports that worldwide birth rates are expected to be cut by half between 1950 and 2025 and that the average life expectancy is predicted to rise from 47 to 70 years. Indeed, it seems that the centuries old trend of the very young outnumbering the old (e.g. in 1950 there were nearly two under fives for every one person over 60) will not be overturned and that by 2025 those over 60 years will outnumber those under five years of age by two to one.

The above data, then, provides a cursory insight into both worldwide and Australasian trends relating to the proportion of elderly in society. While the economic and social effects of these trends have captured some attention (see, for example, Howe[8] and Dobman[9]), the educational implications of an aging population have received little consideration. In the next section of this paper, brief mention will be made of the educational needs of the elderly and this will be followed by several examples of how some of these needs are being met.

THE ELDERLY AND EDUCATION

Probably the two most prominent theorists to speculate about the educational needs of the elderly have been Havighurst[10] and McClusky[11].

According to Havighurst, a person's life cycle is comprised of a series of diminant concerns, each of which governs the behaviour of a person. Three of the eight dominant concerns identified by Havighurst relate directly to the elderly. The first of these, maintaining position and changing roles (Age 50-60) is described by Havighurst in the following way:

> By this age the situation of the individual is definitely losing its earlier advantages. Starting with a decline of physical strength and skill and attractiveness in the early 50's the body becomes less and less favourable for the operation of ego.[12]

This is a plateau period for most people in terms of their power, influence and productivity. Also, during this decade, men and women are likely to assume roles as grandparents and may consequently recognise that the future seems a short period of time in which there may not be time to do everything planned for in earlier decades. Accordingly, to Havighurst, the secret of competence during the 50 to 60 age period seems to lie in the changing of one's roles to take advantage of increased experience as well as to avoid the disadvantages that may accrue from decreased physical vigor and attractiveness. As to the implications for education, Havighurst is less sure:

> Adult education has yet to discover its mission for people in their 50's. In addition to providing for the self-initiating learners, probably it should search for ways of helping people to get perspective on themselves and their careers, and to make the role changes that lead to increased effectiveness and happiness.[13]

The next stage in Havighurst's life cycle conceptualisation is the 60-70 age group - deciding whether to disengage and how. During this decade, men and women in the workforce generally lose their job, through either mandatory or arbitrary retirement schemes and one partner in the marriage, usually the man, dies by the age of 70. The crisis for this age group is that of disengagement which Havighurst describes as a process of decreasing interaction between the person and society. A great many people seem to resist disengagement:

> A person refuses to retire from employment and seeks other jobs when s/he is automatically retired from his/her main career job. A person holds onto offices in church or clubs, in spite of gentle hints that it is time to make way for younger people.[14]

Havighurst maintains that after the age of 70 everybody disengages rapidly, and that those who disengage least rapidly are happier than those who disengage rapidly. What are the implications here for education and the elderly? One possibility, says Havighurst, is to set up study groups on the process of disengagement for those people in their late 50's and early 60's. As well:

> There are other education activities which are attractive to people at this age... These include: classes and study groups in international relations, domestic economic and political problems; cultural activities dealing with music, art, dramatics; and the social activities of churches, clubs and other associations.[15]

The final years of one's life beyond the age of 70 are concerned with making the most of disengagement. During this stage, the elderly generally look on family and friends as the link to the social world, and much time and energy is expended on home and personal life. Moreover, Havighurst is of the opinion that marked differences between the sexes emerge in this period. Men, for instance, seem to become more introverted than women and tend to relinquish leadership roles more fully than women. In setting-up educational programmes for this age group, says Havighurst, one comes across two opposing theories - the stay young, keep active theory and the rocking-chair theory. He expands further:

> The proponent of the rocking-chair theory would say that a program to enhance life satisfaction should concentrate on making the social situation as comfortable as possible... The proponent of the stay young, keep active theory would favour a program of group activities...classes in painting, travel in groups and opportunity for informal social activities.[16]

These final three life cycle stages which have been identified by Havighurst provide a useful insight into the dominant concerns of the elderly and how some of these concerns may be met by educational programmes. The other theorist referred to earlier, McClusky, also speculates about the needs of the elderly when he suggests they have coping, expressive, contributive and influence needs.

McClusky maintained that coping needs are met by such programmes as adult basic education, health education, training for economic improvement, legal arrangements, family adjustments and use of leisure time. This group of needs must be met, says McClusky, in order for the elderly to continue adequate social adjustment, pyschological health and physical well-being.

Expressive needs according to McClusky, refer to those activities the elderly engage in which have intrinsic meaning and pleasure. This may include physical education, liberal and general educational studies and hobbies. Contributive needs, on the other hand, are those which encourage the aged to assist others in society through voluntary organisations and can be met by leadership and various community education programmes. And influence needs reflect the desire of the elderly to play a part in the direction and quality of their lives. Here again, McClusky suggests leadership and community education activities, as well as programmes related to political awareness.

Taken together, both Havighurst's and McClusky's work provides a fairly comprehensive identification of the educational concerns and needs of the elderly. Indeed, as the discussion below illustrates, when reference is made to existing educational programmes for the elderly, it is sometimes possible to use Havighurst's and McClusky's 'needs categories' to classify the type of programme being offered.

EDUCATIONAL PROVISIONS AND POLICIES FOR THE ELDERLY

UNITED STATES

Interest in and concern for increasing the learning opportunities for older adults in the United States contributed to the passage of the Lifelong Learning Act and the Senior Citizen Higher Education Opportunity Act during the 1970's. Both of these Acts provide legislative support for educational programmes for the elderly and currently one university out of three is offering provision, in the form of special courses and tuition waivers, for the elderly. As well, various bodies, such as centres for senior citizens, community schools, and associations of elderly persons, organise educational activities for the aged.

A recent innovation in the United States has been the establishment of an elderhostel system which has a number of participating universities and colleges that offer summer residential programmes for the elderly.

A feature of the elderhostel is that it provides a variety of short courses (e.g. liberal arts, science, psychology) that involve no grades or examination and it places emphasis on combining leisure activities with an educational experience.

EUROPE

A variety of educational programmes and experiences are provided for the elderly in both eastern and western Europe. In Austria, for example, specific training programmes (in modern mathematics, foreign languages, etc) are offered to grandparents to enable them to provide more effective help to grandchildren in whose education they are encouraged to participate. As well, all Austrian universities organise special courses for the elderly, and over 600 aged persons attend Vienna University alone.

In France, Spain, Belgium, Portugal, Switzerland and Poland universities du troisième age (universities of the third age) have been established to extend the cultural horizons of the elderly, to update and enrich their knowledge, to promote and develop human contacts and to encourage participation in community life. In France, there are nearly 60 of these institutions, each of which is affiliated with a university. It has been reported by Nusberg[17] that demand for admission to these universities du troisième age, throughout Europe, often exceeds the number of available spaces.

Sweden has approximately one-third of its adult population involved in continuing or adult education programmes all of which are financed from public funds. For the elderly, radio and television educational programmes, correspondence courses and consumer training courses have been specifically set up.

In eastern Europe, the Veterans of Labour University in the German Democratic Republic and the Scientific Education Society in Hungary have developed courses and activities for the elderly in preparation for their retirement, as well as programmes of education in health and hygiene.

UNITED KINGDOM

While the United Kingdom has a long tradition of adult education, there are only a very small number of programmes designed and organised for the elderly. Nevertheless, the Forum for the Rights of the Elderly Persons to Education has stimulated awareness of the rights and needs of the elderly in respect of education in both the formal and informal context.

CHINA

The idea of lifelong education is not novel in China and associations of veterans and retired workers have been formed for this purpose. Other specialised organisations, such as the Physical Education Association for Aging, also conduct educational programmes in which the study of such diverse subjects as poetry, philosophy, Chinese boxing, traditional therapeutic practices and the prevention and treatment of illness, is undertaken by the elderly.

NEW ZEALAND

Studies and statistics relating to the participation of the elderly in educational programmes in New Zealand are virtually non-existent and information that is available tends to suggest that less than one percent of the 440,000 elderly people in New Zealand is involved in formal education programmes and that between one and five percent of people engaged in continuing education programmes are 60 years of age or older.

Although the level of participation of the elderly in formal educational programmes is small, there are few barriers restricting their entry. For instance, each of the six universities in New Zealand has a provisional admission clause allowing entry to people such as the elderly, who may not meet formal admision requirements.

However, it is the less formal continuing education programmes which seem more attractive to the elderly in New Zealand. The types of programmes in which they become involved, along with people from other age groups, range in duration from one-day seminars to full year courses and span such areas as humanities and religion, fine and applied arts, natural science, crafts, law, social and behavioural science and communication. This diversity of continuing education courses is matched only by the variety of organisations and community groups who sponsor and run these programmes. These range from the Women's Division of the New Zealand Federated Farmers, to various Government Departments, to the New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation and the Trades' Unions.

A more specific type of educational provision and one which has proved popular with the elderly in recent times have been the 'Wider Horizons' programmes which have been specifically designed by the elderly for the elderly. In Christchurch, for instance a Wider Horizons programme was sponsored by the WEA in conjunction with the University of Canterbury and the courses that were offered included current affairs, painting and popular science.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

There seems little doubt that the educational needs and concerns of the elderly will increasingly be given prominence over the coming decades, more so, as the elderly themselves seek to assent their rights and access to education. In tandem with this trend, it is likely that the currency of popular notions, such as 'intellectual loss accompanies old age', 'the elderly are too old to learn', and 'education is for the young' will be further eroded. Given this situation and the international trends towards educational provision for the elderly identified in this paper, the task ahead for the field of educational gerontology is exciting and unique. It would be a pity, therefore, if this field is left undeveloped. If this is the case, the unfortunate irony might be that by the turn of the century most of us will inherit the legacy of our short-sightedness.

FOOTNOTES

1 Dobman, D. (ed) The Impact of Aging, London, Croom Helm, 1981.

2 Howe, A.L. (ed) Towards an Older Australia, St. Lucia, University of Queensland Press, 1981, p. 14.

3 Hyslop, J. "An Aging Population", In Barker, R.A. et.al (eds) Aging New Zealanders, Wellington, Government Printer, 1982, p. 21.

4 UNESCO. Education and Aging, Paris, UNESCO, 1982, p. 7.

5 Gehmacher, E. Educational Questions Concerning the Elderly, Vienna, UNESCO, 1978, p. 5 and 6.

6 Hyslop, op.cit., p. 22.

7 Collated from United Nations Population Division Reports, (1981-1982), New York, United Nations.

8 Howe, op.cit.

9 Dobman, op.cit.

10 Havighurst, R.J. "Changing Status and Roles During the Adult Life Cycle: Significance for Adult Education". In Burns, H.W. (ed) Sociological Backgrounds of Adult Education, Syracuse, New York, Syracuse University, 1970.

11 McClusky, H.Y. "Toward a National Policy on Aging". In Proceedings of the 1971 White House Conference on Aging, Washington, Government Printer, 1971.

12 Havighurst, op.cit., p. 30.

13 Havighurst, op.cit., p. 32.

14 Havighurst, op.cit., p. 33.

15 Havighurst, op.cit., p. 35.

16 Havighurst, op.cit., p. 36.

17 Nusberg, C. "Educational Opportunities for the Elderly in Industrialized Countries Outside the United States", Educational Gerontology, 1982, 8 (4), p. 401.

HOW NOT TO DO COMPARATIVE EDUCATION*

PETER WEST

A respected method of studying comparative education is that of studying national character and assessing the impact of such character on methods and systems of education. In this paper, the method is discussed with reference to the work of Mallinson and Kandel. Following this, some methodological approaches are discussed and references made to anthropological methods of studying comparative education. Finally, these comments are illustrated by a discussion of one recent article which ignores all the above considerations, with stunning results.

In a lucid introductory book on comparative education, Phillip Jones explains aspects of the work of Vernon Mallinson. Jones says that Mallinson's fundamental proposition is that the kind of education any given country experiences is determined by its national character. Such national character is largely determined, Mallinson maintains, by heredity, national environment, social heritage and education.[1] This begs the question of whether education - in its broadest possible sense - creates national identity, or vice versa; but in any event, Mallinson's insistence that comparative education begins with a study of the particular qualities that make an American, or Australian, or New Zealander, what he/she is, is a very proper one.

Similarly, I.L. Kandel, in a pioneering 1933 work, Studies in Comparative Education, declares:

> the comparative approach demands first an appreciation of the intangible, impalpable spiritual and cultural forces which underlie an educational system: the factors and forces outside the school matter even more than what goes inside it.[2]

If this is so, then it is impossible to make any sense of an educational system without a deep understanding of the society into which that system is embedded. In a recent study of educational policy in Alberta, Canada, I found that, as Social Credit declined and was replaced in a landslide 1971 election by a much more pragmatic Conservative government, the whole political climate of Alberta changed.

As a "new broom" was announced to sweep through the tangled thicket of the bureaucracy, the new government moved steadily towards a total reconstruction of Alberta's post-secondary education. By 1972 legislation was announced which established a new Department of Advanced Education, giving the government across-the-board control over many aspects of education in the province.[3] This move aroused much anger in the province's universities and is still an item of bitter debate in Canadian higher education. But few perceive its origins in the political culture of the province. In sum, provincial character was the first item which a policy analyst had to understand before turning to the details of policy. It is nonsense to try to study education without a sound understanding of political culture and what Kandel calls (above) "spiritual and cultural forces".

This makes a comparative educator or policy analyst akin to an anthropologist, who immerses himself in a society in order to study it and its education system. It is necessary to turn now to anthropological approaches to education in order to deepen the comparison and to make some comments about methods of studying education.

In the last twenty years much has been done to investigate anthropological approaches to education. There is not room here to list all the significant works on the subject, but one or two will be quickly referred to. A key volume, Education and Culture: Anthropological Approaches, was edited by George Spindler and published in 1963. This canvassed the common elements between anthropology and the study of education and explored how one could inform the other. More recently, ethnographic approaches to various aspects of education have been taken by Harry Wolcott,[4] Frank Lutz[5] and Fritz Mulhauser.[6]

Many studies have discussed the question of methodology. If an anthropological approach is to be taken, how should it be done? The advocates of the anthropological, or "soft" methodology, stress that they are above all not in favour of rapid data collection. If research is to be done on teaching, they argue, then this is best done by means of painstaking study, perhaps by an "observer" who sits at the back of the class as participant and observer. Harry Wolcott's brilliant book The Man in the Principal's Office was written after Wolcott shadowed an

American school principal for a year. Such a study is far from a "quick and dirty" snapshot of a school administrator, and as a practised ethnographer, Wolcott was able to see the many ways in which school and society were interrelated. In an article on ethnographic approaches to education, Stephen Wilson suggests that questions can be asked of an ethnographic researcher to gauge his credibility. These include:

> What was the researcher's role in the setting (e.g. teacher, administrator, researcher?)
>
> What was his training and background?
>
> What was his previous experience in the field?
>
> What was the purpose of the field study?
>
> Who supported the study?
>
> How long was the researcher in the setting?
>
> How regularly was he there?
>
> Where did he spend most of his time?
>
> With whom did he spend most of his time?
>
> Which members of the community were his informants?[7]

These are a very useful set of questions to apply to any educational researcher who has done a "field visit". It is time to turn to our case study in order to apply the questions.

THE CASE IN QUESTION

Jones declares that one of the worst possible approaches to comparative education is a package tour approach. In other words, the researcher meanders from one country to another, making idle remarks about language, educational systems and educational policies.[9] Just such an article appeared recently, from an educator who had apparently made a literal tour to Australia in order to inform himself about Australians and their education "system". The article was written by Joel Sherman and appeared in Comparative Education Review in October 1982. It brilliantly illustrates the points made so far in this paper.

The theme of the article seems to be that government aid to private schools has been introduced in Australia with very little difficulty (and that the same might be done in the United States). Few students of education could state this theme as confidently as Mr. Sherman:

> With the initiation of aid, however, first indirectly in the form of tax deductions and later as small parts of modest Commonwealth categorical programs, public hostility to government aid gradually dissipated.[9]

It would be more accurate to say that with the commencement of aid, public hostility increased. "State aid to private schools" has been a rallying cry in politics in this country at least since the 1840s.[10] In 1963, when "State aid" was still being debated, Mr. Robert Menzies, then Liberal Party Prime Minister, offered a token amount of assistance for science facilities in public and private schools. The offer caught many people off-guard and it was not until 1965 that opponents of aid became organized in a "Defence of Government Schools" pressure group. This group attracted nearly seven per cent in state and national elections and succeeded in keeping "State aid" alive as a controversial issue.[11] The issue remained alive as aid to private schools increased under the Fraser national government of 1975-83. Mr. Sherman notes this being reduced, it is unfair that some schools should be arbitrarily given more funds. Thus Mr. Sherman has failed to understand that aid to private schools has always divided Australians and that aid proposals have frequently aroused religious and political party passions. Lack of understanding of a key aspect of Australian political culture has led him badly astray.

Aid to private schools in Australia, secondly, has always been involved with the notion of class. Some private schools in Australia have been preferred by the wealthy as schools which will groom their sons and daughters for their places at the head of government, business and the professions. One school of this nature is described in a recent book:

> We head off from this office, out through a marble-floored hall with a great domed ceiling and a grand mahogany staircase, to an exit that takes us on to a wide verandah from where we get a first glorious glimpse of the sparkling Sydney Harbour, with the spectacular nautilus shells of the Opera House to one side. "I doubt if any other school in Australia, or the world for that matter, has a view like that", the headmaster remarks.[12]

This school received $3.3 million per year, a quarter of it from the national and state government.[13] Is it just that this school should receive aid when it has such demonstrable advantages over public schools in suburbs where most of the inhabitants exist on welfare? This issue is misunderstood by Mr. Sherman, who seems to see current programs for school aid as equitable[14] while he ignores the moral implications of aid to wealthy schools. Probably the idea of class in Australia is not easily understood by package tourists.

Third, in his enthusiasm for examining national policy proposals, Mr. Sherman virtually ignores state policy-making. The fact is that the prime responsibility for education in Australia rests with the states.[15] Prior to the establishment of Australia as a nation, legislation in the states began to lay down the basis for public school systems. Mr. Sherman's lack of familiarity with these systems leads him into significant distortions of reality, for instance his bland assertion that Schools Commission guidelines "are generally not viewed as a major restriction on local discretion".[16] Federal programs are administered as a rule through State - level instrumentalities and the seventies were marked by a great degree of national-state tension at almost every level, particularly in education.[17]

The fourth point is the most important of all. Is it true, as Mr. Sherman claims, that Australia and the U.S. are basically similar societies? Unfortunately Mr. Sherman's language betrays him:

> Even a cursory examination of the history and economic, political and social backgrounds of the United States and Australia suggests a strong degree of commonality between the two countries. They share a common language and similar traditions, similar constitutional provisions and governmental structures ...[18]

Mr. Sherman strides on in his even-league boots and every stride lands him deeper in the mire. This is the type of comment which could only be written by a poorly-informed reader, after precisely such a cursory examination as Mr. Sherman has indeed made. There _are_ similarities between Australians and Americans, but any worthwhile historian or anthropologist will give clues to the differences between them.[19] Australian education, to narrow the focus a little, is a blend of many traditions: that of the English "public school" (e.g. Eton and Rugby), the trend towards comprehensive schooling in Britain and the community school movement, to name only the most obvious. In Australian public schools, prefects are used frequently to assist with school discipline, teachers have typically been educated in colleges retaining most elements of the teachers training college and pricnipals are responsible to the State Department of Education for the school's administration. Surely these elements are not found in public schools in the United States.

There are other problems raised by Mr. Sherman's article, especially his statement about the Australian Government having a "policy of promoting both choice and equity"[20] but time does not allow full discussion of all the misleading information in this wide-ranging and largely unsubstantiated article.

Clearly Wilson's questions (printed above) are relevant. Why did Sherman write the article? It appears that he saw Ausgralia as a case study relevant to discussion of aid to private schools in the U.S.A. Thereupon, he seems to have come to Australia, and spoken to a few public servants who perhaps encouraged him to believe that aid to private schools has been a complete success. But the whole basis for comparing Australia and the U.S.A. is a false one, as this paper has shown. It can be done - but not hastily or carelessly. Sherman shows precisely how not to do it.

CONCLUSION

This paper has tried to look at the question of national character and to stress its importance as a prerequisite for understanding education. It has advocated that it follows that comparative education will become a useless mish-mash of false generalizations if it is not rooted in a sound understanding of the societies from which schools and leaders and policies spring. Comparative education is a difficult field, full of traps for the unwary. Too often a beginner falls into such traps because of his over-eagerness to find similarities between one country and another. This is the case in the article discussed above. I hope that its author thinks twice before he ventures into comparative education again.

FOOTNOTES

* An earlier version of this paper will appear in Comparative Education Review in October, 1983.

1. Mallinson, discussed in Phillip E. Jones. Comparative Education: Purpose and Method. St. Lucia, University of Queensland Press, 1971.

2. Kandel, cited in Jones, p.5.

3. See, West, Peter, 'Educational elites and politics in Alberta', Challenge in Educational Administration, XXI(3), 1982 and West, Peter, The Formation of the Department of Advanced Education: A Case Study in Postsecondary Education 1966-73. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Alberta, 1982.

4. Wolcott, Harry, The Man in the Principal's Office, New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1973.

5. See for instance, Lutz, Frank and Ramsey, Margaret, 'The use of anthropological field methods in education', Educational Researcher III(10), November 1974.

6. Mulhause, Fritz, 'Ethnography and Policy making: the case of education', Human Organization XXXIV(3), 1975.

7. Wilson, Stephen, 'The use of ethnographic techniques in educational research', Review of Educational Research, XLVII(1), Wincer 1977, pp.261-2.

8. Jones, pp.12-13.

9. Sherman, p.397.

10. Hogan, Michael and West, Peter, Making Policy in a Changing Context: The Education Policy Process in New South Wales, Melbourne: Centre for the Study of Higher Education, University of Melbourne, 1980, p.9.

11. Mr. Sherman incorrectly sees DOGS as an established interest group (p.397). See Peter Freeman, 'State aid: reports of its death as a controversial issue are exaggerated', Australian Financial Review February 12, 1971 and Peter West, 'Education pressure groups in Australia, with special reference to the "State Aid" dispute in New South Wales, 1965-73', Master of Education long essay, University of Sydney, 1975.

12. Maslen, Geoffrey, School Ties: Private Schooling in Australia, Sydney: Methuen, 1982, p.57.

13. The same. Here as elsewhere Mr. Sherman fails to see the impact of state government programs.

14. Sherman, p.405.

15. Commonwealth of Australia, Constitution, Sections 106-7. State governments currently provide 91 per cent of recurrent funds for public schools. Australian Government, 'The Facts of Education', pamphlet, 1982.

16. Sherman, p.404.

17. Some of these difficulties are discussed in J.V. D'Cruz and P.J. Sheehan, eds., The Renewal of Australian Schools, Hawthorn, Victoria: Australian Council for Educational Research, 1978.

18. Sherman, pp.391-2.

19. George Spindler makes a few apt comments about Americans: "We believe that success is to be won by hard work, but emphasise 'personality' and social contacts as means to getting ahead. We laud honesty as a virtue but acknowledge the primacy of pragmatic expediency in real life. We are egalitarian in ideal and in much of our practice, but indulge in wide-ranging and destructive expressions of invidious prejudice. We deny sexuality but titillate ourselves with sex in our mass media, dress and imagery. Our culture is patterned in conflicts that in part mirror the struggle between the puritan ethic and the demands and opportunities of an industrialising society of abundance". Spindler, 'The Transmission of American Culture', in Spindler (ed.), Education and Culture: Anthropological Approaches, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963, p.149. Australia's national character has been aptly described by Russel Ward as deriving from a harsh climate and the friendship it produces among men 'outback'. Ward also explores some of the differences between Australians and Americans. See Ward, The Australian Legend, Melbourne, 1958.

20. Sherman, p.405. But do poorer parents have the same freedom of choice as do wealthier parents?

STUDENTS' PREFERENCES FOR DISCIPLINE PRACTICES IN SCHOOLS

M.N. LOVEGROVE, R. LEWIS, C. FALL and H. LOVEGROVE

Research into teacher effectiveness has had a long history which can be viewed as being characterised by three phases or cycles (Tisher, 1978; Medley, 1979; Travers, 1978; Rosenshine, 1976). The first was concerned with the examination of teacher personality and characteristics, the second with teacher-student interaction and the third with the nature and quality of instruction. Regardless of which phase was current, the major concern has been to chart relationships between teacher traits and skills and instructional outcomes as measured by cognitive gains in students.

In the last ten years however, researchers aiming to establish the effectiveness of particular teaching practices or teacher characteristics have frequently found it useful to use as independent variables, measures other than the gain in student cognitive achievement. One of the most important of these measures is a variable called student 'time on task' or 'opportunity to learn'. This variable refers to the amount of time students spend engaged in desired learning tasks. Measures of time on task have ranged from the amount of curriculum time devoted to the study of Mathematics to the time students spend attending, while the teacher talks. The variable has been utilized as both a predictor of achievement and an outcome of instruction.

The earlier studies which considered time on task as a predictor variable, established a direct and strong relationship between time on task and student gain in cognitive achievement (Rosenshine, 1979). Later studies have assumed this relationship and therefore used time on task as an outcome variable in place of student achievement.

So accepted has the importance of time on task become that Bloom asserts that

> Time on task is... one of the variables that account for learning differences between students, between classes, and even between nations. (P.383: 1980)

Many studies have therefore tested for the effectiveness of specific teaching behaviours by studying their influence on time on task, and the present authors in their research have accepted the argument that teacher behaviours which maximise students' time on task facilitate students' acquisition of cognitive goals.

The area of teacher behaviour to which we have directed our interests is one which is critical to the process of instruction; classroom control. As Charles (1981) puts it

> Discipline, class control, classroom management - by whatever name you call it, keeping order in the classroom is a teacher's greatest concern. You may not like that fact; you may wish it weren't true. But it is. That's a given in the daily life of teachers. Discipline is so crucial, so basic to everything else in the classroom, that most educators agree: it is the one thing that makes or breaks teachers.... If students don't stay on task, they don't learn. At least they don't learn what they are supposed to. If they do whatever they want, the best plans, activities, and materials don't mean a thing. It needn't be the whole class that misbehaves. Three or four students, even one, can so disrupt a class that learning becomes impossible for even the best behaved students.

The issue of student misbehaviour and its control is of considerable interest to parents and teachers. As McDaniel recently stated, "The public puts such emphasis on good school discipline that its absence is cited as the number one problem in America today. (P. 31: 1981) To justify his claim, McDaniel references American Gallup polls which indicate that "for the tenth time in the last eleven years, school discipline is perceived by the public as education's most important problem" (P.43) Closer to home the concern with classroom control is exemplified by the establishment, in 1982, of a Victorian governmental committee formed to assist teachers to deal with classroom disruption (now that corporal punishment is no longer allowed).

Our particular interest in the area of classroom discipline stems from a belief that time on task is, amongst other influences, a product of a teacher's control skills and their interaction with students' preceived preferences. This opinion has been recently expressed in the Australian Journal of Education by Smyth (1981). Our belief is that if teachers utilize the sort of control techniques students prefer, then students will, in the course of a school day, be less disrupted and therefore spend more time on task.

The first two authors in association with collaborating colleagues are conducting a comprehensive study of teachers' management styles with particular reference to the Australian school system (Lovegrove and Lewis, 1982; Lewis and Lovegrove, 1983). However, to date two replication surveys have been undertaken in the United States of America, and Norway (Lovegrove, et al., 1983) and one is currently being planned in Israel. The studies reported below present the findings of these replications seen in relation to a similar study conducted in Australia. They represent one aspect of the research program relating to student perception of the 'good' teacher. More specifically, we were exclusively interested in examining the role played by classroom control variables within that set of controlcharacteristics which students perceive as representing a 'good' teacher.

It must be freely admitted that the choice of Norway as the first country in which a replication study was implemented was fortuitous in that it arose from the interest which two Norwegian educators had in the area of research as it was outlined by the first author at a conference in the United Kingdom in 1980. Similarly, the selection of the United States was pragmatic. The Comparative Centre, of the School of Education, La Trobe University had had a long standing association with the Buffalo campus of the State University of New York. Colleagues at SUNY(B) considered that in view of the general interest amongst public and teachers alike in the area of teacher-student

> interaction it would be appropriate to also explore student perceptions of classroom practices in the United States of America. Nevertheless, we believe that the study in question and the research program in general is congruent with the need for those working in the area of comparative education to pay more attention to the field of pedagogy (Kazamia, 1972; Husen, 1974) that is, who teaches what, and how, and to whom. As Kelly (1975) has pointed out comparativists have tended to focus on the functions of institutions vis-à-vis the social vacuums that are supposed to fill, rather than on what goes on inside schools. We would agree with Sheehan (1975) that it seems "surprising that this approach has remained so strongly entrenched in the face of twenty years or more of criticism of structural-functionalism". (pp.19-20)

To assess the variety of teacher-control behaviour which was relevant to the aim of the study, the investigation was commenced by identifying the approximate range of control behaviours being currently practised in schools in Australia. This information was obtained by conducting and analysing taped interviews with one class or level-nine students in each of five co-educational State schools in metropolitan Melbourne, Australia. The schools were selected on the basis of knowledge of the degree of co-operation which would be received from staff in an area of research often perceived as being threatening and sensitive. Level-nine students (13-14 years of age) were selected rather than level eight or those in the level ten and beyond, because experienced teachers advised that, on the one hand, the students had in the main weathered the transition from primary to secondary school which occurs at the beginning of grade seven, and on the other hand their opinions were less likely to be dominated by achievement motives generated by the pressures of external examinations conducted at year 12 level. These factors interacted in such a way as to predispose students at the level-nine level to be more overt in their opinions than those younger or older than themselves.

The Interviews

In each school two audio-taped interview sessions were held. The first session was employed to elicit responses to each question and the second to test interpretations of pupils' comments and to provide an opportunity for a more detailed elaboration of responses where considered appropriate. In all cases, interview sessions were conducted after pupils' anonymity was guaranteed and school staff were requested to leave the classroom. During the first part of the interview students were asked 'What makes a good teacher, a poor teacher and a likeable teacher? The interview then narrowed to focus on the importance of classroom control in addition to subject-teaching skills, professional attitudes, interpersonal skills and personal qualities in the teacher.

During the second part, pupils were asked to describe what things teachers did to control misbehaviour and which things were good, bad, fair or unfair.

The third section of the interview required students to infer the 'reason' the good and bad teachers had for engaging in classroom control.

The Questionnaire

A questionnaire was then developed which took a similar form to the interview. The first of its two parts comprised a list of thirty-four teacher characteristics and teaching practices perceived as 'good' or 'bad' by the pupils interviewed. Among these characteristics was the general criterion measure related to classroom management, namely, the item "Doesn't let the class get out of control". Part two comprised a comprehensive list of forty-six classroom-control behaviours, once again based on the pupils' responses during the interviews. In each case, students were requested to select the degree to which they agreed, on a four-point scale ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree, that each of the listed characteristics and practices, and reasons for controlling, applied to a 'Good' teacher. In general, the words and phrasing employed in the construction of the questionnaire were those provided during interviews to ensure that vocabulary and meanings were relevant to the student population.

The process used to establish the reliability of the questionnaire has been detailed elsewhere (Lovegrove and Lewis, 1982). It involved consideration of the stability of pupils' responses to each of the items utilized. However, it should be borne in mind that these reliability data were derived from a sample of Australian students answering an English version of the questionnaire and may not be readily applicable to the sample of students from Tromsø or New York. Therefore, firstly since the study was exploratory and secondly because only two of the classroom management behaviours were found to be unreliable in earlier study, all items were retained for further study.

A Norwegian version of the questionnaire was constructed by translating the Australian one. Due to cultural differences there were problems with the translation of a few items, since they had to retain their general original meaning and at the same time refer to teacher behaviour not outside the Norwegian students' experiences. The translation was controlled independently by three Norwegian academics. Only one item could not be successfully applied to the Norwegian context. This was an item which pertained to "strapping and caning", teacher behaviours which in Norway have been forbidden by law since 1936.

The questionnaire was administered to 408 year nine students in 10 high schools in Melbourne, Australia, 215 year nine students in five junior high schools in Tromsø, Norway and 532 students in five high schools in New York State, United States of America.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

In order to compare the responses of students from Melbourne, Australia, Tromsø, Norway and New York State, United States of America, item means were calculated for each of the three samples. Table 1 records the 46 items on which data are available together with the mean of each sample, which indicates the degree to which respondents associate the behaviour with the discipline practices of good teachers. For coding purposes Strong Agreement was scored as 4, Agreement as 3, Disagreement as 2 and Strong Disagreement as 1.

So that the extent of the differences among the three samples could be determined, one way analyses of variance (ANOVA) were computed for each of the statements together with a Scheffe test to show which groups of respondents differed significantly. Since there were 46 of these calculations performed, we used conservative significance levels of .0001[1] for the overall ANOVA and .001[2] for the Scheffé test. Inspection of the findings indicate that, at these levels of significance, at least two samples' means differed by approximately one third of the average within group standard deviation. Table 1 records which of the respective one way ANOVA's were significant. When the mean response of each sample differed significantly no mean is underlined. However if the significant ANOVA finding was due to one mean differing from the other two (which were statistically indistinguishable), the mean that is different is underlined.

Observation of the data in Table 1 support the inference that there is far greater variation across statements within samples, than there is across samples for any of the statements. Therefore, despite the fact that

---

[1] At this level , the sizes of differences among sample means has a probability of one in ten thousand of occurring by chance.

[2] At this level, the size of the difference between two particular means has a probability of one in one thousand of occurring by chance.

Table 1: Mean Responses of Students to Discipline Items

	Aust. (N=408)	Norway (N=209)	U.States (N=532)	P<.0001
1. Walk out of class when most of the class misbehave	1.63	1.88	1.63	*
2. Cane/strap kids	1.45	1.17	1.30	*
3. Explain that too much noise prevents learning from taking place	2.80	3.19	2.86	*
4. Punish misbahving kids rather than the whole class	3.35	3.08	3.53	*
5. Keep class in for detention	1.95	1.57	1.72	*
6. Make rules for behaviour very clear	2.98	2.92	3.25	*
7. Follow up a threat if misbehaviour occurs again	2.63	3.07	2.82	*
8. Generally treat the same kind of misbehaviour with the same kind of punishment	2.68	3.03	2.92	*
9. Allow students to work out the rules for behaviour themselves	2.39	2.43	2.24	
10. Tell off kids in front of the class	2.41	2.11	1.77	*
11. Explain that he or she is annoyed by misbehaving kids	2.98	2.81	2.98	
12. Tell off kids in private	2.74	3.02	2.76	*
13. Separate kids who misbehave	2.95	3.01	2.94	
14. Send misbehaving kids out of class	2.70	2.59	2.37	
15. Explain that he or she can't work when kids misbehave	2.76	2.96	2.93	*
16. Send kids to other teachers for telling off (e.g. Principal)	2.01	2.24	2.38	*
17. Explain that the kids in class can't work when other kids misbehave	2.97	3.05	3.05	
18. Send note to parents of misbehaving kids	2.18	2.62	2.78	*
19. Keep individual kids in (e.g. detention)	2.80	2.25	2.93	*
20. Keep class in (e.g. detention) because some kids misbehave	1.58	1.40	1.40	*
21. Have misbehaving kids do yard duty	2.42	1.75	2.01	*
22. Have misbehaving kids write lines	2.47	1.48	2.19	*
23. Have kids 'catch up' on work missed due to their misbehaviour	2.90	2.86	2.98	

	Aust. (N=408)	Norway (N=209)	U.States (N=532)	P<.0001
24. Hit kids who misbehave	1.59	1.21	1.40	*
25. Ignore kids who misbehave	1.91	1.76	1.78	*
26. Yell at kids who misbehave	2.49	1.88	2.61	*
27. Give extra work as punishment	2.49	1.87	2.62	
28. Remain calm when telling off kids for misbehaving	3.03	3.02	3.06	
29. Embarrass kids who misbehave	2.19	2.07	2.03	
30. Give a warning before moving kids	3.11	3.30	3.16	
31. Give a warning before sending kids out of class	3.01	3.20	3.20	*
32. Stand and wait for misbehaviour to stop	2.34	2.02	2.22	*
33. Let kids off after promising punishment	2.07	2.09	1.81	*
34. Swear at kids	1.77	1.99	1.70	*
35. Get angry at misbehaving kids	2.60	2.74	2.67	*
36. Name kids who misbehave	2.46	1.54	2.42	*
37. Make a loud noise to attract attention	2.32	2.62	2.37	
38. Stare at kids who misbehave	2.36	2.19	2.36	
39. Move among kids who misbehave	2.58	2.41	2.65	
40. Demand an apology from misbehaving kids	2.56	2.41	2.50	
41. Confiscate or destroy objects belonging to misbehaving kids	1.80	1.56	1.60	*
42. Have interview with parents of kids who misbehave	2.24	2.91	2.77	*
43. Remove privileges from misbehaving kids (e.g. no excursion)	2.24	1.67	2.91	*
44. Give reasons why some types of behaviour are not allowed	2.96	3.09	3.10	
45. Have misbehaving kids attend a different class	2.01	1.66	2.19	*
46. Reward kids when they don't misbehave	2.35	2.36	2.33	

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

statistically significant differences are reported for approximately 65 per cent of the statements, the importance of different discipline practices in the three places sampled does not vary substantially across location.

Similarities in Preferences Across Samples

To interpret the degree of similarity of the preferences for teacher disciplining behaviour of the students from Melbourne, Tromsø and New York State each item mean was recoded. Any item for which the mean was between 1.0 and 1.5 was defined as describing a 'very bad teaching behaviour' (in the eyes of students). If an item mean was between 1.5 and 2.0, 2.0 and 2.5, 2.5 and 3.0, 3.0 and 3.5 or 3.5 and 4.0, the item was termed as 'bad', 'not suitable', 'suitable', 'good', and 'very good' respectively.

Comparisons of the recoded item responses shows that 46 per cent of the statements were coded identically in each location from which samples were drawn. Another 29 per cent were coded in the same category by two samples and an adjacent category by the third (in each case, the codings were on the same side of the'neutral' position - a mean of 2.5). Both sets of items are included in Table 2 which records whether the item was best coded as a very good behaviour, a good behaviour etc. In summary, approximately three quarters of the 46 items had similar response patterns in Melbourne, Tromoø and New York State. This degree of concurrence allowed a summary of the findings to depict students' perception of the disciplinary behaviour of a good teacher, whether it be in Australia, Norway or the United States. For the purposes of avoiding tenuous conclusions,items in the middle range, (equivocal response categories of 'suitable' and 'not suitable') have been omitted.

Table 2 The degree of acceptability of disciplining behaviours

Item numbers recorded

Acceptability of Item

	Very Good	Good	Suitable	Not Suitable	Bad	Very Bad
Three samples in Agreement	-	28, 30, 31	11, 14, 15, 23, 25	9, 16, 29, 32, 37, 38, 46	1, 5, 25, 34 41	2, 24
Two samples in Agreement	4, 17	3, 6, 7, 8, 12, 13, 44	10, 21, 33, 36, 45	-	-	20, 40

The good teacher, in terms of students' preferred behaviour, can be described in the following terms.[1] The good teacher in Melbourne, Tromsø and New York State would very clearly explain why certain types of behaviour are not allowed (6, 44), basing his or her explanation on the need to maintain an appropriate learning environment (3, 17). It is of interest to note that an explanation based more on a teacher's personal needs (like being annoyed (11) or finding it difficult to teach (15)) are less acceptable to students.

Once rules have been made clear,[2] the teacher should display consistency in acting against miscreants (7, 8) but should not ignore misbehaviour (25) nor walk away from it (1). When disciplining, the teacher should generally remain calm (28). Although there is no objection by students to a teacher getting angry with misbehaving kids or even yelling at them (with the exception of the Norwegian students) the good teacher would not swear at miscreants (34). One may infer that it is the distinction between righteous indignation and hostility that concerns students. Harsh punishments are to be avoided (2, 24, 40, 41) and admonishments in private (12) are preferred to a telling-off in public (10).

---

1. Relevant item numbers are inferenced in parentheses.

2 These findings relate closely to one of the conclusions presented by Lasley (1981), in an independent analysis of some recent research into classrooms. In his review, Lasley refers to a study of Emmer & Evertson (1980) which, using observation of teaching, concluded that effective classroom managers had clearly defined rules.

When necessary, after a warning (30, 31) miscreants should be separated (13) to prevent further disruption or isolated outside the classroom. At all times care should be taken to identify the miscreant and to avoid punishment of the whole class for the actions of some class members (4, 5, 20).

Differences in Preferences Across Samples

Having considered the extent of similarity among findings it was also valuable to inspect the differences in response patterns in a manner that most readily illuminated systematic differences among the preferences of students from different countries. The procedure undertaken was to look at all items for which significant differences among means were recorded (refer Table 1) and then determine for which items the students in Melbourne scored significantly more highly or more lowly than the students in both Tromsø and New York State. Similar analyses were then carried out for the other two samples thereby allowing a comparison of Tromsø and then New York State and the remaining respondents respectively. Table 3 records the items which students from each of the three sampled rated significantly more or less favourably than the students from the remaining two locations respectively.

Table 3 Items more or less characteristic of good teachers in each location

Item numbers recorded

	Items more characteristic	Items less characteristic
Melbourne Australia	2, 5, 21, 22, 24	7, 15, 16, 18, 31, 42
Tromsø Norway	1, 3, 7, 12, 30, 34, 37	4, 19, 22, 24, 26, 27, 32, 36, 43, 45
New York State United States of American	4, 6, 27, 43, 45	10, 33

Although there is no apparent trend which summarises adequately the findings for the sample of students from New York State, the remaining two groups of students appear to have responded in a manner that is sufficiently systematic to facilitate tentative interpretation. For example, one can infer that since the students from Melbourne are less concerned than the other respondents about the use of corporal punishment (2, 24) and of "arbitrary" punishment (21, 22) they may be described as more accepting of traditional autocratic sanctions than the students sampled in New York State and Tromsø. This is consistent with corporal punishment being illegal in Norway, but the situation is less clear in New York State, where it is left to each school district to adjudicate on the matter.

Secondly, they tend to be more likely than the other respondents to reject the idea that a good teacher would involve parents of a miscreant (18, 42) or other teachers (16) in the handling of misbehaviour. This latter observation is of particular interest because the pattern of students' responses to both items concerning the involvement of parents in dealing with miscreants (18 and 42) indicate that these sorts of behaviour are perceived as characteristic of a good teacher in Tromsø and New York State but in contrast however, are characteristic of a bad teacher in Melbourne. It would therefore appear that in both the Norwegian and North American school systems a co-operative approach to the handling of discipline problems is more acceptable to students.

The responses from students in Tromsø appear to reflect a lesser acceptance of autocratic or somewhat arbitrary sanctions (22, 24, 36, 43). In addition, the Norwegian students more humanistic preferences appear supported by the fact that they are more likely to characterise good teachers by the use of private admonishment (12), explanations based on the avoidance of disruption to other students ability to work (3) and warning before moving students in class (30).

Implications of the Findings

The purposive samples used in this research cannot be assumed to be representative of level 9 students in the countries from which they were drawn. Consequently preferences characteristic of a sample of students from Melbourne and Tromsø cannot be confidently believed to apply to all students in that particular location. The differences among students from Melbourne, Tromsø and New York State are of interest in that they allow some small insight into what may be national characteristics of students, however the data are sufficiently tenuous to preclude generating implications of any significance. In contrast, the findings pertaining to the similarities in preferred discipline techniques of students from the three locations sampled have several implications.

The reason for placing greater confidence in these findings is their large degree of communality. It is highly likely that students sampled within a country have greater similarity in their preferences for particular teacher disciplinary techniques than do students selected from different countries. Therefore, it is reasonable to argue that the preferences of students within the three countries involved in this study would display even greater homogeneity in patterns of preferences than is shown in the data coming from Melbourne, Tromsø and New York State. This being so, the limitations normally placed on basing generalisations on non-representative samples can be somewhat attenuated and the implications therefore considered of significance.

The first of these implications relates to the opportunity for co-operative and comparative research. Given the large degree of similarity in the range of management techniques in use and in the students' preferences for particular management styles in different countries, it would be possible to conduct comparative research in this field, assured that many research questions would readily transfer from one national context to another. For example, it would be valuable to investigate which of several theoretical models for management (Charles,1981) are of greatest acceptability to students and teachers in different countries.

Secondly, it would be possible to engage in international experimental research whereby the time and expense invested in the production of training materials relating to classroom management practices could be shared by participating researchers from different countries. For example, our findings suggest that provided rules are made clear and teachers remain calm while admonishing, Australian students find the authoritarian teacher less offensive than do students in Norway and the United States suggesting that Canter and Canter's (1976) model of assertively taking charge is one that might be most appropriate in Australia. However, the situation is somewhat more complicated than this in that a key feature of the Canter and Canter model involves the co-operation of parents in the rule selecting process. This would appear to be less acceptable to Australian samples than it is for samples in the United States and Norway.

Studies exploring such problems would be consistent with Kelly's (1975) emphasis on comparativists directing attention to what goes on inside schools and to the current interest shown in classroom instruction by the International Evaluation of Educational Achievement group (I.E.A.) which is administering an investigation of classroom behaviour in approximately ten countries (Fordham,1983). These sorts of studies have an additional contribution to practice when seen in the light of teacher exchange programs. Teachers bring all sorts of cultural expectations with them when they work in a country different from their own. Notwithstanding the similarities between students' perceptions in the countries referred to above, we believe that it is incumbent upon any sponsoring agency to ensure that exchange teachers are appraised of the dynamics of student/teacher relationships in the host country. For example, hearsay evidence suggests that Israeli teachers (shlichim) on three year contracts in some private schools in Melbourne have difficulty in acclimatising to the local cultural context, particularly with regard to issues of discipline. Hence, our current interest in exploring the perceptions of Israeli students.

Bibliography

BLOOM, B.S., The new direction in educational research: alterable variables. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 1980, *61*: 382-385.

CANTER, L. and CANTER, M., *Assertive discipline: a take-charge approach for today's educator.* Seal Beach, Calif., Canter and Associates, 1976.

CHARLES, C.M., *Building classroom discipline. From models to practice*. New York: Longman Inc., 1981.

FORDHAM, A., *The context of teaching and learning*. ACER, Hawthorn, Melbourne, 1983.

HUSEN, T., *The learning society*. London: Methuen, 1974.

KAZAMAIS, A., Comparative pedagogy: an assignment for the seventies. *Comparative Education Review*, XIV, 3, 1972.

KELLY, G., The transfer of educational culture and its impact: the case of colonial Vietnam. (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Univeristy of Wisconsin, Madison), 1975.

LASLEY, T.J., Research perspectives on classroom management. *Journal of Teacher Education*, XXXII(2), 1981: 14-17.

LEWIS, R. and LOVEGROVE, M.N., How students would prefer teachers to handle kids who misbehave. *S.E.T. Research Information for Teachers*, *1*, 1983.

LOVEGROVE, M.N. and LEWIS, R., Classroom-control procedures used by relationship-centred teachers. *Journal of Education for Teaching*, *8*: 55-56 1982.

LOVEGROVE, M.N., LEWIS, R., ØYVIND, K.J. and STRØMNES, A.C., The classroom control techniques of 'good' teachers: a Norwegian study. *Compare*, Spring, 1983 (in press).

McDANIEL, T.R., Power in the classroom. *The Educational Forum*, 1981.

MEDLEY, D.M., The effectiveness of teachers. In Peterson, P.L. and Walberg, H.J. (eds.), *Research on teaching*. Berkeley: McCutchan, 1979: 11-27.

ROSENSHINE, B., Recent research on teaching behaviour and student achievement. *Journal of Teacher Education*, *17*: 61-64, 1975.

SHEEHAN, B., Comparative and international education at the crossroads? An optimistic note. Plenary paper presented at the annual conference of the Comparative and International Society, San Francisco, March 1975.

SMYTH, W.J., Research on classroom management: studies of pupil engaged learning time as a special but instructive case. *Journal of Education for Teaching*, *7*: 127-148, 1981.

TRAVERS, R.M.W., *An introduction to educational research.* New York: Macmillan, 1978.

TISHER, R.P., Presidential address, Australian Association for Research in Education Conference. *Australian Educational Research* A.A.R.E., *5*: 15-28, 1978.

SECTION TWO

SCHOOLING, POLICIES AND PRACTICES

EDUCATIONAL ISSUES IN CONTEMPORARY JAPANESE EDUCATION

KAORI OKANO

1. INTRODUCTION

Japan opened her door to the West in 1868 after three centuries of isolation policy. In 100 years since then she has become one of the highly industrialised nations. Among others, education, which was expanded as rapidly as her economy, has been regarded as one of the important factors contributing to the national development. It was believed that greater numbers of well-educated people would improve productivity and welfare. Thus, few had had any doubts about 'expansion of education' in Japan. However, the radical student unrest in the late 1960s made a few educationalists begin to question the expansion. There are still many issues which are widely discussed in Japanese education.

This paper is an attempt to examine two educational issues which contemporary Japan, 'a late-developer', faces, as a result of, or in spite of, its rapid expansion. After a brief description of quanitative aspects of Japanese education, two main issues are discussed; entrance examination systems and higher education.

Since 1945, the American single-track system has been adopted. Starting at the age of six, children go through 9 year compulsory education, i.e. 6 years primary and 3 years junior high school. Almost 100 percent attendance has been achieved. Upon completion of the compulsory education in 1980, 94.2 percent of 15 year olds went on to senior high school through entrance examinations. In the same year, 37.9 percent of those who attended senior high school proceeded to higher education. The illiteracy rate was 0.7 percent in 1970, one of the lowest in the world (Foreign Press Centre, 1981: 88). Japanese teachers spend more time on in-service training than their American counterparts (Morimoto, 1982), and Japanese students attend schools more days a year than American students (Schiller et.al., 1982).

II. TWO ISSUES

(1) ENTRANCE EXAMINATION SYSTEM

Due to the many articles written on the topic in magazines and papers, Japanese education evokes for many outsiders a picture of exaggerated competitiveness. The 'examination hell', a term describing the strenuous preparation for the examination, has existed for so long that many Japanese now take it for granted. However, it does not mean that people do not question it. In fact, many do.

This is a problematic issue, although some groups do not regard it as a serious problem. For example, many prosperous educational industries catering for students such as jukus, preparatory schools and publishers cannot survive without the system. Industries and government offices rely on the clear-cut hierarchy of universities in their recruitment. Thus, the examination functions effectively for some groups of people. However, it is problematic for the following reasons.

First, the whole education tends to be aimed at the university entrance examination which in most cases requires a large amount of knowledge. Much of the training in senior high schools, especially 'good' schools which send many students to 'good' universities, is devoted not to learning or developing students' inner capability but only to preparing them to pass the examination. In some cases even at primary and junior high school levels the preparation to the next step is emphasized.

The preparation is also emphasized after school hours. There were about 50,000 'jukus', cramming schools, in 1977 and that 27 percent of six graders and 28 percent of junior high school students attended jukus after school (Shimahara, 1979: 86). The prosperity of the after-school drilling at the 'juku', and of home-tutors casts a shadow on the assumption that the university entrance examination provides a fair opportunity for open competition based on the criterion of achievement. Those who receive costly drilling tend to be advantaged. In fact, the recent survey shows that average income of parents of students of national universities, which in general are more difficult to enter, is higher than that of students at private universities (Japan Times Weekly Jan. 29th, 1983). This is contradictory since the tuition fee for private institutions is much higher than that for public institutions. Rich families send children to inexpensive and well-equipped universities while relatively poor families have to send children to expensive institutions with poor facilities. If they are unlucky enough to fail the entrance examination which is held only once a year, they spend another year or sometimes 4 or 5 years at a preparatory school. These students are called 'rounin' whose literary meaning is a masterless samurai in the feudal era. Rounins constitutes nearly 40 percent of all applicants (Shimahara, 1979: 169).

Second, the entrance examination imposes on young adolescents formidable psychological pressure. The supreme example of the outcome of this tension is suicide as an escape from the examination or from miserable fear of failure. Self-discipline, hard work and tenacity are required for students. Concerning this, however, Shimahara (1979) argues that the entrance examination is a critical 'rite of passage' to adulthood, since it requires intense involvement; self-denial, determination and above all the resilience to adopt a certain cognitive and motivational orientation to society. It may indeed offer those who succeed in it a learning experience culminating in adult ability to adapt, but to those who do not, the failure may be traumatic and lead to radical and violent reaction.

Entrance examinations exist in many other societies. Australia has the Higher School Certificate examination. Why, then, is the competition more intense in Japan?

First, there is a strong belief that formal education determines which career patterns one qualifies for, i.e. one's status in Japanese society. It is no exaggeration to say that an examination at the age of 18 determines the whole life of a person. Second reason for this competition is the clear hierarchy of about 1000 universities and colleges in Japan. Factors affecting rank are; whether the university had status under the old system or not; whether it is national or private; whether it has a graduate school or not; whether it is a university or college (Shimbori, 1981: 238). At the top of the hierarchy is Tokyo University which sends the largest number of graduates to government ministries. Some government offices and the management echelons of larger companies are monopolised by graduates of a few universities which rank in the upper part of the pyramid. Third, the public in general believes that the examination is one of the most objective ways to select capable people. Since the Meiji restoration, examinations to the upper schools have selected leaders of Japanese government and industries regardless of family background and place of birth. However, it is irrational that the entire career of a person is determined at the tender age of 18 by the examination which tests only a limited area of knowledge.

The 1979 University Entrance Reform initiated by Education Minister Nagai, a former Professor of Sociology of Education, was a challenging initiative in this well-argued area. Two identifiable faults to overcome were: (1) since each university formulates its own questions in isolation, the content of high school education becomes of almost secondary importance; (2) each university uses objective tests which stress routine memorisation (Nagai, 1977: 307). Under the new system, those who desire to enter national universities sit the universal test consisting of seven subjects as a first step. Knowing the score of the first test, students apply for respective universities which also offer an individual test as a second step. Assessment is based on the two examinations, although each university adopts different criteria.

The Unified First Test which is based on the secondary school curriculum and encourages critical acumen was expected to correct the above faults. However, it was far from successful. First, the hierarchy of universities become apparent from their respective minimum acceptance scores. Another unexpected outcome was an increase of applicants to private institutions and decrease to public ones (Mainichi Shinbun, April 9th, 1983). This is mainly because the reform was implemented only in public institutions, excluding private ones which constitutes 77.9 percent of all higher education institutions. Some students see seven subjects for the Unified Test too much burden, compared with three for private universities. Other relatively bright students who used to make a public university as their second choice. And the examinations for private universities have not changed at all in the reform.

The failure of the 1979 Reform teaches us that merely incremental changes within the education system will not have significant impact. As long as people believe in the close link between an admission to 'better' universities and membership of certain groups in society, and as long as the hierarchy of universities exists, major changes may not be expected.

The link has been perpetuated in two ways; first, by 'nepotism' based on the university one attended. In recruiting, larger companies favour graduates of certain universities which their executives attended. Thus, large companies have been monopolised by certain universities. Second, government ministries conduct 'objective' examinations, the result being, however, that most of the successful applicants come from certain universities. Those who are good at entrance examinations also perform very well in the similar examinations of recruitment.

One possible measure would be a comprehensive reform in recruitment, initiated by the government so that graduates of certain universities cannot be favoured by the 'nepotism'. First, government offices could adopt a policy of affirmative action to allow 'outsiders' to enter the system. Second, the government could also take strong measures to put pressure on the powerful Federation of Employers to limit the percentage of graduates of certain universities in their recruitment. Consequently, employers would rely more on what applicants have studied at universities and less on their origin.

Another possible measure would be a 'university zone' system in order to adjust the clear hierarchy. Although it may not work as well as the 'high school zone system' did, due to the concentration of private universities in metropolitan areas, some changes could be expected. Third, admission to universities could be based on both examination, performance and individual experiences at secondary school level.

(2) HIGHER EDUCATION

1. 'CERTIFICATE WITHOUT EDUCATION'.

Education in Japanese universities is relatively undemanding (Pempel, 1971, Kitamura et.al., 1972, Chapman, 1981 and Reischauer, 1977). Once one is admitted to a university, it is not difficult to graduate in 4 years. It is degrees not 'education' in the form of skills and knowledge, that is important. The function of university seems to have become 'social selection' rather than 'education'.

There are several factors creating this 'Certificate without education' tendency. Firstly, employers are more concerned with the university which a student has attended than what he or she actually did at university, since they provide their own extensive on-the-job training. The process of recruitment consists in most cases of a paper test on 'general knowledge' and an interview. A survey in 1975 (Nihon Recruit Centre, 1975) shows that only 12 percent of the personnel officers agree with the statement 'college graduates have superior specialisation' while 39 percent disagree. And 54 percent agree with the statement that 'college graduates have sufficient sociability and cooperativity'.

Secondly, parents of students believe their children deserve a break and a chance to have fun after the strenuous examination. Thirdly, within the university, both students and their teachers tend to be more occupied with other activities such as leisure, club activities and meetings for students while research and public lectures for teachers. As a result, a marriage of convenience has developed where neither of them make great demands on each other (Kitamura et.al., 1972: 312). Fourthly, facilities are relatively poor at Japanese universities (especially private institutions). This is an outcome of poor finance at private institutions as will be discussed in the next section.

2. POOR FINANCE

Private universities seriously suffer from the poor finance. A study (Ichikawa, 1978) indicates that Japanese private institutions have significantly less finance than that of universities in other advanced nations, while public ones are financed relatively well. Table shows how educational facilities at private institutions are poorer than those at public ones. This is mainly due to the difference in access to public financial sources. Private institutions derive only 14.5 percent of their expenditure from the public purse whereas national ones are subsidised at the level of 96.4 percent.

It is important to note that 76.8 percent of university students are at private institutions and that 77.9 percent of all higher education institutions are private (Ministry of Education, 1982). This means that most of the students study under poor conditions and that they pay more for poorer education.

Besides the dual structure of private and public institutions, access to public resources differs greatly even among national universities, where old and prestigious universities receive more finance (Ichikawa, 1978).

This underinvestment phenomenon is a result of the process of higher education development after the war. The increased social demand for higher education was satisfied by the expansion of the private sector, not by the public sector. The expansion of the private sector was made possible by the rapid economic growth of the 1960s which raised income levels. It is the 'two-sector structure' which enabled Japanese higher education to expand rapidly while preserving a few old national universities for high quality of education and research. The government, unable to afford the entire burden of expense for higher education, allowed too many institutions to become 'universities' on the basis of easy conditions.

Although the Law for institutional aid to private schools was passed in 1975, equality between the two sectors is still a long way off. The number of universities should not be increased. Government could impose up-graded minimum conditions in terms of facility and budgets on universities, and check them regularly. If the conditions are not satisfied, university status could be withdrawn.

3. ISOLATION AND LOW MOBILITY

Japanese universities are isolated at three levels; at the inter-departmental level within each university; at the inter-university level within Japan; and at the international level.

The number of foreign teachers and students at Japanese universities are significantly small. Only 0.59 percent of total staff in 1976 were foreign teachers, most of them being foreign language teachers. Since the Japanese government in 1953 ruled that only Japanese nationals could become senior teaching personnel at national institutions, foreign teachers have been able to obtain only the status of 'foreign teacher' or 'assistant' (Kobayashi, 1979: 180). It was only in 1979 that the law revision was approved and it was not until 1982 that a foreign teacher was appointed as a senior teacher-associate professor at Kyoto University.

The number of foreign students is very small in relation to university capacity. In 1976 there were only 5,671 foreign students excluding Korean permanent residents in Japan. Seventy six percent come from Asia and most of them major in engineering and sciences (Kobayashi, 1979: 173). One factor preventing students from coming to Japan to study is the language problem. All universities use Japanese as the instruction language except for a few private universities, and they usually require students to take a half-year intensive language course before they can start their major fields. Another is that other countries have difficulty in evaluating Japanese degrees due to the differing calibres of universities and due, too, to the fact that they have little experience of graduates of Japanese universities.

The limited movement of scholars and students is also a characteristic observed among universities. Shimbori (1978) explains this phenomenon by pursuing 'Gakubatsu' (academic cliquism) which is very prevalent. In hiring and selecting university staff, preferential treatment is always given to school alumni, resulting in in-breeding. For example, an extensive research of full-time staff in pedagogy shows that 95 percent of teachers at Tokyo University are school alumni, and at Kyoto University the proportion is 90 percent.

Even within an individual campus, little interchange takes place. Schools and departments tend to be mutually exclusive (Shimbori, 1981: 241). This is probably one of the outcomes of respected autonomy of chairs. The tendency remains stronger at older universities.

Some recent events indicate a possibility of improvement. The establishment of the United Nation University Headquarter in Tokyo gives some hope of an increased flow of scholars. The first English-speaking graduate university 'Kokusai Daigaku' (International University) is mainly funded by industrial circles and began to accept students from April, 1983. It offers a quota for foreign students. However, academic cliquism will be slow to fade, unless the central Ministry of Education takes innovatory measures in hiring teachers at each university, and this is most unlikely to happen in the forseeable future. For, Japanese universities and intellectuals have traditionally been strongly in favour of the principle of 'university autonomy' (Marshall explains this tendency in historical context. 1977).

III. CONCLUSION

The two issues discussed here are only a portion of the whole problems which Japanese education has had.

Minorities, i.e. Ainus, Korean residents, Burakumin (social outcasts) have not benefitted from the expansion as much as they could have, due to the covert discrimination against them exercised in society. Cumming's argument over the egalitarian tendency of Japanese education and society (1980) has not included these minority groups. Involuntary attendance at high school level is another issue, resulting sometimes in violent actions against others.

Expansion has contributed to development by producing more 'educated' and 'disciplined' people, i.e. a productive workforce. It was fortunate that the workforce could be absorbed by the industries which had begun to 'take off'. Furthermore, the expansion of education was reinforced by the increased income level as a result of the economic growth at the time. Consequently, it came to involve more and more people in the competitive race to better universities. In other words, expansion of education meant expansion of competitive race involving more people than ever. Being preoccupied with preparation for the upper schools, Japanese education seems to have forgotten the task of achieving the full development of the 'individuals'.

Expansion of education does not necessarily bring happiness to all people if the education itself is not appropriate. Expansion of education in Japan might have been appropriate for the 'industrialisation' of the nation, but not for individual development. However, many developing countries appear to believe in educational expansion regardless of its appropriateness to the nation, even, not to mention to individuals.

TABLE: Comparison of Educational Conditions in National and Private Institutions, 1975.

Educational Condition	National Colleges and Universities	Private Colleges and Universities
Student-teacher ratio (full-time teacher)	11.7	41.0
Number of students per non-teaching staff member	6.7	27.3
Floor space per student	26.4 sq.m.	8.7 sq.m.
School site space per student	83.4 sq.m.	29.5 sq.m.
Educational expenditure per student	909,000 yen	343,000 yen
Number of library books per student	109.4	26.6

(Ichikawa, 1979: 57)

REFERENCES:

Chapman, Christine (1981) 'All play and no work' Far Eastern Economic Review. July 3rd, 1981, pp.32.

Cummings, William K. (1980) Education and Equality in Japan. Princeton Uni. Press, New Jersey.

Cummings, W.K., I. Amano and K. Kitamura (eds) (1979) Changes in the Japanese University: A Comparative Perspective. Praeger Pub., New York.

Foreign Press Centre (1982) Facts and Figures of Japan. Tokyo.

Ichikawa, Shogo (1979) 'Finance of Higher Education' in Cummings et.al.(eds) (1979: 40-63).

Japan Times Weekly. January 29th, 1983. Tokyo.

Kitamura, K. and W.K. Cummings (1972) 'The Big Bang Theory and Japanese University Reform', Comparative Education Review. Vol.16. No. 2. pp.303-24.

Kobayashi, Tetsuya (1979) 'Internationalisation of Japanese Higher Education', in Cummings et.al.(eds) (1979: 166-84).

Mainich Shinbun. April 9th, 1983.

Marshall, Byron K. (1977) 'The tradition of conflict in the governance of Japan's imperial universities, 'History of Education Quarterly. Vol.17. No.4. pp.385-406.

Monbusho, Japan (1982) Gakko Kinon Chosa Sokuho.

Morimoto, Tokiko (1982) 'Contrastive Attitudes or Japanese and American Teachers', Educational Leadership. March 1982. pp.414-5.

Nagai, Michio (1977) 'Higher Education in a Free Society: Institutional Autonomy and Government Planning', Japan Quarterly. Vol.24. No.3. pp.306-12.

Nihon Recruit Centre (1975) Gakureki ni kansuru Kigyo no ikenshosa. (Survey of Employers' Views on School Certificates.) Tokyo.

Pempel, T.J. (1971) 'Evaluation of Japan's Mass Higher Education', Japan Quarterly. Vol.18. No.4. pp.449-54.

Reischauer, Edwin O. (1977) The Japanese. Harvard Univ. Press. Cambridge.

Schiller, D.P. and H.J. Welberg (1982) 'Japan: The Learning Society', Educational Leadership. Vol.39. No.6. March, 1982. pp.411-2.

Shimahara, Nobuo (1979) Adaptation and Education in Japan. Preager: New York.

Shimbori, Michiya (1978) Nihon no Gakkai. (Academic Community in Japan). Nihonkeizai shinbun sha. Tokyo.

________________ (1981) 'Two features of Japan's Higher Education: Formal and Informal.' Japan Quarterly. Vol.28. No.2.pp.234-44.

THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN REINFORCING THE GROUP MODEL IN JAPANESE SOCIETY

KEVIN COLLINS

INTRODUCTION

In 1868 Japan reacted to the forced opening of its ports by Western powers by initiating moves which it hoped would lead to rapid modernisation. Fearful of the changes which had been forced on China and other Asian countries, the Japanese leaders felt that the only way to maintain their sovereignity was to gain equality of power as rapidly as possible. To achieve this goal, the nation had to be changed from a semi-feudalistic society with little in the way of modern technology or industry, to one which could complete on equal terms with the Western nations in terms of military strength and industrial productivity, and it had to be completed as rapidly as possible to forstal any possible extraterratorial aspirations of the more developed countries. Another aspect which had to be considered by the Japanese leaders was the need to accomplish these objectives in such a way as to reduce the social stresses normally associated with modernisation thus causing as little disruption as possible to the industrial and economic activities being pursued by the government.

The extraordinary extent to which Japan achieved its objectives, the speed with which modernisation was accomplished, and, later, the recovery from the devastation of World War II, are known to all. What are still being examined and disputed about, however, are the mechanics which were used for these achievements. When one reflects on the fact that from 1868 to World War II Japan's average annual economic growth rate was approximately 3 per cent (among the highest in the world during that period), and that in the decade following the restoration of Japan's economy to pre-war levels (i.e. 1954), total production per capita tripled and manufacturing almost quadrupled, then it is understandable that a great deal of interest has been generated in analysing the causes of these developments.

A variety of factors have been put forward by scholars engaged in such research, but the majority of these factors would fall into one or other of the following categories: the governmental/enterprise relationship; the United States/Japanese relationship; the employer/

employee relationship; the traditional/modern relationship; and the individual/group relationship. While the factors contained in each of these categories have contributed to Japan's industrial success, an examination of the categories suggests that one factor which appears in several of these categories is critical.

The important strength of the relationship between industry and government as characterised by the term "Japan Inc" has been stressed by researchers and disgruntled foreign competitors alike. Kahn put their case quite well when he stated that:

> The basic driving power (of postwar recovery) was a result of the effective utilisation of state power, of state financial organization, of state funding, and of the mobilization of other state-owned or controlled resources. All were used to support private enterprises in whatever ways needed. Even the original privately owned zaibatsu in the nineteenth century were begun by the government; the government started the business and then sold them at low prices to certain Samurai families.
>
> (Kahn 1971: 88)

One example of the benefits gained by government support quoted by Kahn was the way in which Japanese industry gained American technology at "bargain-basement rates" through the intervention of MITI (the Ministry of International Trade and Investment) (Kahn 1971: 80). Other well known examples of MITI involvement include the "required" formation of a consortium of major companies engaged in the microchip industry to combine research and development talent in an attempt to gain international leadership in the field. But the important point in this example, and others where MITI either allows inefficient or obsolete industries to go under, or controls selected industries by allocation of export subsidies, is that the selected companies or enterprises had to be able to survive on their own abilities and organisational procedures. These practices, basically predicated on good management, worker cooperation and productivity, parallel the relationships established prior to the Meiji Restoration, and which now form a "link between the institutions of the Tokugawa period and the 'groupishness' characteristic of workshop organization today" (Dore 1973: 381). In a similar way it can be shown that the benefits gained through its 'privileged' relationship with America would not have been possible if Japanese industry had not been both competitive and reliable - the result of good management and employer/employee relationships.

The characteristic which appears to be common to each of the above relationships, and to be basic to Japanese society in general is the "groupishness" mentioned by Dore. This aspect of Japan is not something new which has recently developed, but, as has been mentioned by Dore and others, is something which has been apparent for centuries. Yoshino put it in the following way:

> Traditional Japan has often been characterized as a collectivity-oriented society. In fact, the individual hardly existed in it as a distinct entity. In every aspect of life, he was tightly bound to a group and had virtually no individual freedom. Indeed, the basic political, economic, and social unit in traditional Japan was the collectivity rather than the individual.
>
> (Yoshino 1968: 9)

While this stress on the collectivity existed prior to the Tokugawa period in the small, local farming communities, it became more pronounced during that period. The Tokugawa authorities preferred to work with groups, so they introduced procedures to further develop such an orientation as a measure for social control. In more recent times Vogel stated that the more he examinedthe "Japanese approach to modern organization, the business community, and the bureaucracy", the more he became convinced that character traits such as diligence and thrift had less to do with Japanese success than organizational structures such as the group (Vogal 1979: ix).

As almost everyone who has spent some time in Japan has seen and commented on incidents which they felt demonstrated group behaviour, whether it be groups of workers going off for drinks or dinner after work, office workers playing volleyball or baseball at lunch time, or the ubiquitous school excursions, this paper will examine more closely the 'group' model of Japanese behaviour, the extent to which it exists, and whether education plays any part in such examples as do exist.

THE GROUP MODEL

From the example already given by Yoshino the basic criteria involved in group behaviour, as distinct from individual behaviour, requires that the individual submerges his individuality to further group goals, and group expectations. While this aspect of group behaviour is generally well known, other characteristics of Japanese group structure are less well known and will be examined now.

Nakane, in her analysis of Japanese society, categorises the contrasting modes of social configuration as either attribute (relating to his occupation) or frame (referring to a locality, institution, or particular relationship). Seen in the context of a person who has a particular occupation and lives in a specific community, when the occupation orientation is sufficiently strong that "an effective occupational group is formed which cuts across several villages; ... there is formed a distinct horizontal stratum which renders proportionally weaker the degree of coherence of the village community". Conversely, where the community cohesion is extemely strong, the links between those in occupational groups weaken (Nakane 1970: 24). The community was always the primary group for Japanese peasants, and the concept of a primary group persists today for the majority of Japanese. While there are many examples of people belonging to more than one group, there is always one major group which has top priority with the others being of lesser importance. The Japanese tendency to stress frame rather than attribute can be observed in the following example:

> ... when a Japanese "faces the outside" (confronts another person) and affixes some position to himself socially he is inclined to given precedence to institution over kind of occupation. Rather than saying "I am a type-setter" or "I am a filing clerk", he is likely to say, "I am from B Publishing Group" or "I belong to S Company". Much depends on context, of course, but where a choice exists he will use the latter form. ... In group identification, a frame such as a "company" or "association" is of primary importance; the attribute of the individual is a secondary matter.
>
> (Nakane 1970: 2)

To a large extent the modern group in Japan is based on the extended family in either the farming, craftsman or merchant concept of the pre-Meiji period. In this context immediate family, relatives, apprentices, and non-family workers were all considered part of "the family", and received food, accommodation, and were responsible to work for, and with, other "family members" for the benefit of all. Currently, familialism, welfare services, housing schemes, recreation centres, and educational facilities are provided by large companies for their employees and their families. Befu (1971:49) describes this concept as ritual kinship because the members display kinship-type behaviour to each other although no actual kinship ties may exist. He perceives the essential features of the ritual kinship system as being:

1. Functional diffuseness and particularism which implies commitment to one's ritual kin simply because they are in this ritual relationship, and where interaction is not limited to work situations, but pervades their whole lives.
2. Hierarchical organisation.
3. Economic dependence.
4. Solidarity.
5. Symbolic expressions such as using ritual kinship terminology and other practices.

Whether one uses Nakane's familialism, Befu's ritual kinship, or Bennet and Ishino's paternalism (1963) the characteristics of the group involve hierarchical ranking, exchanging individual ambitions and behaviour for group goals and expectations, the gaining of security and support through group solidarity, striving for consensus rather than confrontation and disagreement, respect and deference given by junior members to senior group members which is reciprocated with concern and assistance for the juniors, and a general effort by all in the group to maintain group harmony and compete with other groups both within the same institution and outside it.

Although the majority of writers in this field tend to support the existence of the group model in Japanese society, Sugimoto and Mouer (1981: 10) feel that an increasing number of scholars are coming to doubt "whether, in comparison with people in other societies, the Japanese are more group-oriented, place more emphasis on consensus and social harmony, value more deeply group membership or social solidarity, or are more accustomed to 'vertical' forms of organisation". To support this view, they outlined the extent of research relating to conflict from the peasant rebellions in the Tokagawa era, through rural riots and disputes in the Meiji and Taisho periods, to the student protests, and the tensions between the Ministry of Education and the teachers' union in more recent times. However, in presenting these examples of conflict and lack of harmony, they tended to ignore one of the basic aspects of group behaviour, in that harmony and lack of conflict within a group is balanced by competition, and sometimes conflict, between groups. The model of Japanese society as put forward by Nakane, Clark and others, is based on the concept that the society is composed of many groups, and of groups within groups, which if one accepts the "in-group" - "out-group" concept, allows for the types of conflict between groups mentioned by Sugimoto and Mouer. Whether Japanese are more group-oriented than people in other societies is possibly debatable, but Dore (1973: 297), in his study on Japanese and British workers, came to the conclusion that the "Japanese are lesser individualists, are more inclined to submerge their identity in some large group to which they belong, and (are) more likely to be obsessed by a sense of duty", while the British tend to be more selfish, irresponsible, and concerned with their personal rights and benefits. A recent study of American companies by Peters and Waterman (1982) found that in some companies group activities did occur, but the carryover of group behaviour into the social life of the working group members certainly did not happen to the same extent or intensity as that found in Japan.

A key to understanding why these differences exist has been suggested by Clark (1978). He contends that the Japanese have retained and developed the family-tribal values that characterise the origins of all societies, (e.g. group-centred, instinctive, and familial). In other words, Japan has managed to retain much of its pre-feudal/feudal identity and has not, as most other industrialised countries, developed an ideological society where principles, laws, and contracts replace personal relations as the binding agents for both groups and society.

> Even today the resemblance between modern Japanese values and the values of the family or tribal unit is striking. Individualism is subordinated to group interests. Consensus and commonality are stressed. Age and sex determine hierarchies. Religions are weakly developed. morality is group-centred and based on customs and conventions rather than universalistic ideologies. Situations and human relations have precedence over abstract laws and principles. Practical solutions are preferred to abstract theorizing. Feelings and instincts are important

> guides to action. Nor is it simply the values that are similar. In the structure of its society Japan remains essentially a collection of groups and sub-groups, held together by tight emotional, human-relations bonds.
>
> (Clark 1978: 3)

In psychological terms the ideological bias emphasises the intellectual dimension of the personality, or the ability to operate in terms of abstract concepts and principles. The instinctive, group-oriented approach emphasises the emotional side of the personality. This does not imply that non-Japanese have greater intellectual capacities than Japanese, but rather that it is "propensity, not ability" that is important. While we all possess both the intellectual and emotional dimensions, the cultural conditioning of the Japanese puts more emphasis on the emotional dimension in contrast to the intellectual bias common to those from the Western countries. Hanami (1981) found a similar dichotomy when comparing Western and Japanese models of industrial relations.

> Both types of industrial relations are based on different social and personal relationships: the independence of the individual and economic rationalism in the West and, in Japan, the existence of an emotional, perhaps sentimental, relationship between employer and employee within the enterprise.
>
> (Hanami 1981: 20)

Although only a sampling of opinions and research related to "groupism" in Japan has been presented here, the vast majority of scholars of both Japanese and non-Japanese origin tend to support the view that the Japanese _are_ more group-oriented, and that the nature of the Japanese group is unique. Whereas groups in other societies are usually based on attribute, that is they are based on shared skills and beliefs (such as trade unions, religions, and castes) and are dependent on the principles or concepts which underlie them, Japanese groups are normally based on frame or location (i.e. X Company, Y University) and depend on human and emotional contact. While scholars with views conflicting with this notion of the unique Japanese group have pointed out quite validly that conflict has existed, and still exists today, this can in large part be answered by the "in-group" "out-group" concept which is a generally accepted aspect of Japanese society.

Another view they put forward is that "groupism" or the "group model" is an ideology propogated by the Japanese elite to both (a) control and mould the Japanese people through creating an "image of stability, harmony and consensus" (Sugimoto 1981: 16) in much the same way as described by Dore, and (b) to present a picture of Japanese society to their trading partners in an attempt to justify their policies and practices in industrial trade and marketing. This is a more difficult charge to answer as the Japanese Foreign Ministry has paid to have books such as Nakane's translated and distributed throughout Asian, European and American countries. It is possible to suggest, however, that while the Japanese elite do sponsor, and encourage qroupism, for their own ends, that this only reinforces the instinctive and emotional behaviour of the Japanese who still hold very strongly to family or tribal values.

Why does this emotional relationship, familialism or ritual kinship system develop to the extent it does in Japan? Clark (1978: 4) would say that people "instinctively identify" with the company or group where they work simply because of the fact that they work there. Woronoff (1982: 38) suggests that it is because the company selects only those applicants which it feels "can be moulded later to fit the company's needs". The emphasis is placed on the type of person wanted rather than on his abilities. Among the most desired characteristics are loyalty and harmony, and reminders of these characteristics appear in slogans and mottos, and are constantly referred to in speeches by company executives. Since most Japanese are more concerned with the prestige of the company they join than the actual position they gain in such a company, they are "willing to alter or hide their true feelings and adopt the outer shell their employer wants", in order to be selected and retained by the company. Gradually, over the years he becomes part of a growing circle of company employees all of whom adapt their personal styles through interaction at work, at the company canteen, at a nearby bar, having dinner together after work, or through living in company housing.

While in Japan in 1979, the writer interviewed companies such as Matsushita Electric (Pioneer, National, etc.), Sony, Toyota, N.E.C., Kawasaki Heavy Industries, and N.K.K. Steel, and was told in response to a question concerning selection criteria, that a major proportion of the fairly extensive tests and interviews each applicant underwent was to determine whether he or she had the "correct" attitudes and behaviour to fit into the company. No matter how bright, or how good his reports or results, if it was felt that he was too individualistic and independent then he would be passed over in favour of an applicant who demonstrated cooperative attitudes, group-oriented behaviour, and diligence.

Various authors, such as Yoshino (1968) and Levine (1958) emphasise the vertical structure which forms such a basic part of Japanese social and work life. Levine stated that a "horizontal amalgamation of workers ran counter to traditions of vertical loyalties stemming from the age-old consanguinal family system and feudal relationships" (p.18). Yoshino discusses not only the vertical relationships within each group, but also the fact that a large corporation is composed of vertically linked "layers" of such groups (p.204), and that this linkage is replicated between company's and sub-contractors, and between large enterprises and small to medium sized firms.

Following this pattern to its logical conclusion then, it should be possible to postulate that Japan is composed of networks of vertically linked groups displaying characteristics of group loyalties; fierce competition between the "we-groups" and the "outsider groups"; subordination of personal goals, expectations, and working styles to the corresponding group norms; close human contact and relationships which spill over from the working environment in the members' social lives; and decisions being arrived at by consensus and discussions involving all members of the group. This, in fact, is what one will find in Japan, along with the strengths and weaknesses inherent in such a system, if one examines the employment system, particularly for males although women are becoming more involved in this pattern. With the work group being the primary group for so many, it is obvious that groups based on social linkages, or religion (which normally has quite weak affiliations except for such groups as the Sokka Gokkai movement), sporting groups, and to a large extent the family, are far less vital, dominating, and obvious, and play a much smaller role in Japanese society. The question remaining to be answered is why have the groups in the working environment become so dominant.

THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN GROUP DEVELOPMENT AND MAINTENANCE

From the points raised in the foregoing discussion it would appear that while the group approach was probably a natural development in small rural areas of Japan in the early and feudal periods, and may still be a natural outgrowth of the instinctive, emotional nature of the Japanese, there have been very deliberate attempts throughout Japan's history up to the present time to encourage and reinforce such a development. Dore (1973) certainly suggests such a situation when he describes the creation of a work-gang system in 1882.

> From five to fifteen workers were grouped in relatively permanent work-groups under a foreman leader who was "to be himself a model of correct behaviour, to guide and exhort the members of his group in accordance with the orders of his superior, to make sure that they obey the regulations, to admonish them when they are in error, and to unite them in earnest industrial endeavour". ... What is clear is its roots in Japanese culture - in the moralism of the passage quoted, and in another of the twenty-one articles of the work-group rules which stated: "any shirking, misconduct or breaking of the regulations by any member of the group shall be considered the responsibility not only of the individual concerned, but of the group as a whole". Here was a creative application to industry of an old method of political control long familiar in China and Japan and institutionalized in seventeenth-century Japan ... Here, then, is a link between the institutions of the Tokugawa period and the "groupishness" characteristic of workshop organization today. (1973: 381).

In this example Dore presents us with a case where the workers are "educated" in the ways of group responsibility and cohesion. A similar statement could be made about the mutual responsibility of work groups today, but to a large extent it would not be necessary to set out similar guidelines since these expectations are now accepted as normal; an indication of the effectiveness of this aspect of the education process. The stress at the present time is placed on the Japanese manager to cultivate harmony and solidarity within his group, or as stated by Pascale and Athos (1981: 126), the "group's harmony, and spirit are the main concern". As the work group is the basic building block of Japanese organisations, then it can be projected further to claim that Japanese management is basically concerned with maintaining the harmony and spirit of their individual workforces as they compete for a greater proportion of the domestic and export market. Even the "oyabun" or foreman, who has been excluded from the managerial process of decision-making, has as one of his major functions "to reinforce his group's self discipline, already inherently strong as a result of commonly held cultural values, customs, and language" (Levine 1958: 57).

Reischauer (1965: 135) would support Dore's views, particularly the concept of political control of the population. He felt that the Tokugawa regime deliberately supported Confucian philosophy which was concerned with correct observance of social relationships in a hierarchically structured society, because it provided the very emotional Japanese with "the external controls they required to form a well-regulated, peaceful society". If one accepts that Japan is a hierarchically structured society, then Japanese management is still engaged in moulding or educating behaviour to ensure that a "well-regulated, peaceful" workforce exists. While much of their efforts are directed to group formation, maintenance, and harmony, most companies also provide specific reinforcement through their training programs. Some of the personnel and training officers interviewed during 1979 and 1983 admitted that the technical/informational content of the short courses might sometimes be fairly small, but that a major objective was to re-stimulate selected workers who would then, it was hoped, help to stimulate their work groups.

Schools also play an integral part in the developing of group behaviour. While a lot of attention is paid to the fierce competition for places in the hierarchy of Japanese universities, and concern continues because of the number of school students who attend coaching classes outside school hours, the competition is usually seen as being between the student and the particular entrance exam, rather than between students; or could even be between students from one school and the students from other schools. Vogel (1979: 28) sees study as a social activity which should continue throughout life.

> By the time Japanese youth complete formal schooling, not only have they acquired general information, but they have acquired the habit of studying in groups. Even if they read alone, they discuss their reading with peers.

The close relationship of a student to his peers at school, to his family and to his teachers, strongly motivates him to study so that he will not only gain personal status and success, but that he will not disappoint them or let them down.

> The motivation for achievement through examinations is increased by the tight-knit membership of a variety of groups. Families are, in a sense, competing with other families, and the child's success in examinations is seen as directly reflecting on a family's success.
>
> (Vogel 1979: 165)

In much the same way, classes within a school also compete with other schools, with great stress being placed on individual and school success.

The closeness within school groups will develop partially from continual interaction over the twelve years spent at school as it would in most countries, but it is also fostered.

> Through group projects, group trips, classroom organization, and above all through close-knit activity clubs with membership lasting several years the student is not only allowed to enjoy group life but taught to be sensitive to his peers and to restrain personal egoism. Indeed, student organizations themselves play a major role in advising a student about ways to gain the respect of his peers. This prepares the student for life in a modern organization, where he is expected to develop a long-range commitment to work peers and to be considerate of them.
>
> (Vogel 1979: 178)

Even areas of the curriculum, such as Moral Education, ensure the acquisition of desirable attitudes and behaviour by discussing personal interaction, responsibility to others, the benefits of cooperation, and other similar aspects of behaviour selected to be emphasised in the program.

Although the basic goals of education as expressed by the Ministry of Education, and the actual practice of what happens in schools are not necessarily the same, it is interesting to note a couple of comments expressed in the Ministry guidelines for reform in 1972.

> As men leading a social life, we should establish a variety of human relations and actively participate in social activities. Through these we acquire the consciousness of social solidarity, responsible attitudes and behaviouralabilities which enable us

> to realize not only our own goals but also to aid others in their efforts. (p.3)
>
> Direction of Improvement of School Education
> (b) The improvement of such methods of education as group activities so as to promote the development of sociability, and to create a classroom situation where individual students can be provided with appropriate guidance and counselling. (p.6)
>
> In addition the classes composed of various types of students must be handled so that the educational function of group life is not impaired. (p.14).

With these objectives being brought clearly to the attention of teachers throughout Japan, it is not difficult to see how the examples of school group activities mentioned previously by Vogel came into being.

When one reviews the varying factors which support group formation it is clear why group behaviour has persisted for so long. Ranging from the instinctive behaviour of the individuals, the familiarity of groupism at work within the family and the community at large, the group activities which permeate school life from kindergarten through to graduation from senior high school and even university, the selection procedures for employment, the reiterated and overt stress on group behaviour and harmony presented by employers, and the lifelong education patterns provided by employers, these activities constantly encourage and reinforce acceptance of, and adherance to, group behaviour as a means of gaining personal goals and the satisfaction of contributing to the success of one's company. It is difficult, however, not to ponder on the future of groups and group behaviour if the companies/employers ceased to make so obvious their desire for group-oriented employees, so that only such aspects as Clark's "instinctive" behaviour, and normal family and community values reamined to support their continuance. Would schools still place so much stress on fostering group activities if employers no longer wanted those skills and characteristics in their future employees? If Brown (1974: 186) was accurate when he said that:

> It is precisely the group-orientation of the members, the cohesion, and the insistence on harmonious personal relations which, I submit, are the strength of Japanese organizaions and the source of their efficiency.

then it is doubtful that schools or society will want to reorder their expectations in the near future.

REFERENCES

Bufu, H. 'Ritual kinship in Japan: it's variability and resiliency'. In Yamamoto and Ishida (eds.), Modern Japanese Society. California: McCutchan Publishing Corp., 1971.

Bennet, J.W. and Ishino, I. Paternalism in the Japanese Economy. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1963.

Brown, W. 'Japanese management: the cultural background'. In Lebra and Lebra (eds.), Japanese Culture and Behavior. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1974.

Clark, G. 'The human relations society versus the ideological society'. Japan Foundation Newsletter, August-September, 1978.

Dore, R. British Factory - Japanese Factory. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1973.

Hanami, T. Labor Relations in Japan Today. Tokyo: Kodansha International Ltd., 1979.

Kahn, H. The Emerging Japanese Superstate. London: Andre Deutsch Ltd., 1971.

Lebra, T.S. and Lebra, W.P. (eds.), Japanese Culture and Behavior. Nonolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1974.

Lebra, T.S. Japanese Patterns of Behavior. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1976.

Levine, S.B. Industrial Relations in Postwar Japan. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1958.

Nakane, C. Japanese Society. London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1970.

Pascale, R.L. and Athos, A.G. The Art of Japanese Management. Reading, U.K.: Penguin Books, 1981.

Peters, L.J. and Waterman, R.H. In Search of Excellence: Lessons from America's Best Run Companies. New York: Harper and Rowe, 1982.

Reischauer, E.O. The United States and Japan. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965.

Sugimoto, Y and Mouer, R.E. Japanese Society: Stereotypes and Realities. Melbourne: Japanese Studies Centre, 1981.

Vogel, E.F. Japan as Number One. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979.

Woronoff, J. Japan's Wasted Workers. Tokyo: Lotus Press, 1982.

Yoshino, M.Y. Japan's Managerial System. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1968.

____________. Basic Guidelines for the Reform of Education. Tokyo: Ministry of Education, Japan, 1972.

MONTESSORI AND KRISHNAMURTI: A COMPARISON OF THEIR EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHIES AND SCHOOLS IN PRACTICE IN THE UNITED STATES AND INDIA

JAN CURRIE and JIM BREADMORE

Maria Montessori (1870-1952) and Jiddu Krishnamurti (1895-) are two educators who argue strongly for different structures of educational practices to those of the traditional structures. Both see traditional educational practices, methods and teacher centred schools as inhibitors to the innate learning drives of young people. Although these two educators met when Montessori was interned in India during the Second World War, there is no evidence to suggest that either one influenced the other regarding their respective educational viewpoints and conclusions. Montessori had been invited to India by the Theosophical Society, the society which had proclaimed Krishnamurti as the New World Teacher, but by the time of their meeting this distinction had been rejected by Krishnamurti and he had disassociated himself from the society.[1]

The writings of both these educators evidence penetrating criticisms of traditional education but what makes the comparison of these two educators more interesting is not so much their attacks on traditional systems as their advocacy of an entirely different kind of schooling which, each claims, would bring about a new type of civilized human being. According to Krishnamurti, only a psychological revolution can bring about this transformation while Montessori calls for an acceptance of children which would allow children themselves to reveal laws of psychic construction hitherto unknown. Both believe that if non-violent civilizations are to emerge on this planet and the potential for human intelligence is to be achieved, then it is essential for traditional educational practices to be abandoned as counter productive. Both educators agree on the need for an entirely new approach to education but there are several fundamental and significant points of application on which they disagree. The purpose of this paper is to illuminate the essential thinking of these two educators and bring into focus some similarities and differences of their respective approaches. The paper will also describe, briefly, some of the schools where each of the educator's writings are being implemented.

The paper has been organized into the structure that Montessori designated as the "triangle of education": the child, the adult and the environment. In the discussion of the child, how the child learns and the role the child should take in his or her own education, will be described. The discussion dealing with the second point of the triangle, the adult, will deal with the attributes, characteristics and training of teachers and what each educator sees as a necessary relationship between teacher and child. The discussion of the triangle's third point will concentrate on what each educator sees as an essential educational environment and this will incorporate such issues as discipline, competition, evaluation and the use of methods. Before examining each educator's viewpoint concerning these three categories some of their general observations of education will be noted.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS OF EDUCATION

Condemnation of the Traditional Approach to Education

Both educators look at traditional education from a world point of view. Each argues that state education ignores the fundamental significance of life and has failed to attend to the total development of the individual. Government education, both argue, is out of balance. It concentrates too heavily on the mere transmission of knowledge and unquestioning obedience to authority, and it fails to allow individuals to express their own creativity and take responsibility for their own thinking and actions.

Both Krishnamurti and Montessori's objection of State educational practices is left in no doubt and the similarity of their criticisms is replete in both their writings. Montessori writes:

> "In most State controlled systems, what matters is that the programme shall be fulfilled. ... what happens then is that young people leave university with their minds so shackled and sacrificed that they have lost all power of individuation and can no longer judge the problems of the age in which they live" (1973:9).

In the same vein Krishnamurti writes:

> "Government control of education is a calamity. There is no hope of peace and order in the world as long as education is the handmaid of the State..."He does not hesitate in asserting that, "nothing of fundamental value can be accomplished through mass instruction." (1953: 85)

Montessori found, after making a study of contemporary European educational systems, that the children were reduced to immobility in the classroom - "not disciplined," she said, "but annihilated." The children in public schools are "like butterflies mounted on pins, fastened each to a place, the desk, spreading their useless wings of barren and meaningless knowledge which they have acquired" (Montessori, 1964:14).

Krishnamurti has also written about the annihilation of the individual and has condemned the present system of schooling as "making us subservient, mechanical and deeply thoughtless; though it awakened us intellectually, inwardly it leaves us incomplete, stultified and uncreative" (Krishnamurti, 1953:15). And in another condemnation of present-day education he has stated that "Education throughout the world has failed, it has produced mounting destruction and misery" (Krishnamurti, 1953:77). There is just as much, if not more, poverty, starvation and expenditure on armaments today as there was one hundred years ago.

State Involvement in Education: Reform vs. Revolution

It is significant that Krishnamurti refuses to accept any State funding for the Krishnamurti Foundation Schools and also significant that the Montessori Society of Germany was abolished by the political police in 1935; and Mussolini's Minister of Education put a stop to all official Montessori activities in Italy in 1936. Both educators are highly critical of the record of State involvement in education and although Montessori says that "The State must never abandon the child." (1973:12) Krishnamurti expresses the opinion that as long as education is in the hands of the State, there is no hope for peace.

Montessori argued that the State had a duty to become involved in the education of children if the home was unable to do this for lack of means. But nevertheless this did not stop her from asking whether there was "anything more immovable, stagnant, and indifferent than the education of today?" (1973:13). In talking to the senior students at one of the Krishnamurti Foundation Schools, Krishnamurti outlined his objections to State education:

> We see what education has been used for. Human beings throughout the world ... are being educated to conform, to fit into society and into their culture.... Is that education or is education something entirely different? Can education see to it that the human mind is not drawn into that vast stream and so destroyed?...Real education means that a human mind, your mind, not only is capable of being excellent in mathematics, geography and history, but also can never under any circumstances, be drawn into the stream of society. Because that stream which we call living, is very corrupt, is immoral, is violent, is greedy. That stream is our culture. (1974:12:13)

Without question Krishnamurti is among the most trenchant of contemporary critics of State education. Again and again he condemns modern-day mass education. "Education throughout the world," he says, "has failed, it has produced mounting destruction and misery...regimentation and prejudice are being cultivated and enforced" (1953:77).

Although Montessori joins Krishnamurti in the view that mass educational systems have failed in their efforts to properly educate young people, she does not exclude the possibility that State education can be reformed. Krishnamurti, on the other hand, denies that any reform can ever bring about, what he calls, 'right education'. 'Right education' can only be achieved, he maintains, when the State is excluded from determining what the goals of education should be. It is esential to appreciate this difference of viewpoint between the two educators. Montessori holds that "...any reform of education must be based on the personality of man" (1973:6) whereas Krishnamurti denies that reform of any kind would be capable of bringing about the psychological revolution which, he insists, is the only condition that can bring 'right education' into being. The start and finish of Krishnamurti's whole educational viewpoint must be seen against this background of psychological revolution. Educational reforms are self defeating, he argues. "Obviously there must be a radical revolution. The world crisis demands it. Our lives demand it. ... There must be a fundamental, radical revolution because everything about us has collapsed." (Krishnamurti quoted in Neil, 1957:6) Montessori had faith that educational reform could correct the ills she saw in government education but Krishnamurti sees that reform is retrogressive. The summary of Krishnamurti's arguments against reform and advocacy for a completely new approach to education is that he sees reform as a condition wherein there has been no true action but merely a gradual process of becoming static. Reform is born not out of action but reaction, out of opposition and this process is an endless one of replacing one orthodox reform with another but always fundamentally maintaining the same disasterous structure.

In their desire to construct a new society, Montessori and Krishnamurti do not advocate collective upbringing or the control of education by the state. This is why both writers could not be described as social reconstructionists in the political sense but more as psychological reconstructionists, that is, both see that change in society can only truly come about in an enduring way when the individuals who comprise society undergo a radical psychological change. This change would be to develop critical awareness through self-education. This, they have both written, demands schools that are small where children receive individual attention and where schools are autonomous, not controlled by any government body. Krishnamurti would add that schools should also not be controlled by any religious body.

THE CHILD

Child as basically good

There is no difference in how Montessori and Krishnamurti perceive the fundamental nature of the child. They both hark back to Rousseau's notion of the child as a noble savage, as basically good (see Boyd, 1962) Montessori wrote that "the child is a well-spring of love" (1967:289). Krishnamurti does not say explicitly that the child is good and represents love but he implies this when he writes that by making children aware of their conditioning, they can discover 'what is', in other words, they can discover basic enduring values which will allow them to "flower in goodness and love" (1953:22).

Freedom and order

Both Montessori and Krishnamurti agree with Rousseau that in order for the child to continue to 'be good', there has to be an environment of freedom. Rousseau's solution to the contaminating influence of the society was to isolate the child from it so that the free spirit could develop without the need for societal moulding. Neither Montessori nor Krishnamurti would go as far as to isolate the child completely from society yet they both would 'prepare' an environment that would be in the words of Krishnamurti, an oasis in society.

The child would not be free to do whatever he or she felt like doing, a la Rousseau or A.S. Neill (granted, even they had a few restrictions on children's freedom); rather the child would temper freedom with order and responsibility. Montessori says in The Montessori Method that "the liberty of the child should have as its *limit* the collective interest" (1964:87). Montessori felt that responsibility towards others and an 'ordered' community would develop naturally as the children worked together and came to respect each other's work. She felt there may be times when the child offends or annoys others. Yet, for the most part, if the teacher does not intervene, the children will create their own order. Montessori's description of discipline is what is known in present-day terminology as intrinsic discipline or internal locus of control. In her words the process of acquiring intrinsic order or discipline is almost mystical. She states:

> Such discipline could never be obtained by commands, by sermonizings, in short, through any of the disciplinary devices universally known. In fact, such discipline...does not depend upon the teacher but upon a sort of miracle, occurring in the inner life of each child (1964:349).

Krishnamurti would agree with Montessori in desiring the child to develop his or her own sense of order. He believes that "for a human being, order means order within himself (1974:56). He also perceives of the necessity to combine freedom and order by saying, "I would help the child to be free and yet at the same time have order and discipline without conformity (1974:57). Yet he does not want the teacher to discipline the child for this implies obedience and would mean that the child is submitting to a higher authority. He states explicitly that "domination or compulsion of any kind is a direct hindrance to freedom and intelligence" (1953:106). In order to bring about a community of individuals who are both free and responsible toward each other, Krishnamurti feels that "it is particularly important that students and teachers meet regularly to discuss all matters relating to the well-being of the whole group (1953:92). (This reminds one of A.S. Neil's school meetings at Summerhill.) Krishnamurti goes on to state why he feels a student council should be formed and that students should govern themselves, choosing those who would be responsible for the carrying out of decisions. He feels that this form of self government in school is a preparation for self government in later life.

If the child continues to be an annoyance to the community, both Montessori and Krishnamurti offer the same advice: "to observe the child's tendencies, his aptitudes, his temperament, to understand his difficulties, to take into account his heredity and parental influence" (1953:92). Montessori is best known as an advocate of observation and it was through her own observation of the child that she developed her "method". She believed that in the beginning most children will wander around the room, looking for something that will attract their interest and they may annoy other children but they will eventually become "normalized"[3] when they find something that interests them and they become completely absorbed in a piece of work. The teacher may have to pay special attention to the child who is not "normalized", to take the child by the hand and lead him or her to an activity that will captivate the curiosity.

Total Development of the Child

Finally, in this section I would like to examine how Montessori and Krishnamurti view the total personality of the child. Montessori has said that "our aim with very young children must be to aid the spontaneous development of the mental, spiritual and physical personality and not to make of the child a cultured individual in the commonly accepted sense of the term" (1964:230). Likewise Krishnamurti has pointed to three elements of the personality that need to be in harmony: "The body, the emotions and the mind make the total human being, and without all of them living together harmoniously, conflict is inevitable" (1958:17).

In both of their writings, there is clearly a humanistic approach to developing a confluence of the affective and cognitive aspects of the personality. It is obvious that they both desire the total development of the human being. Nevertheless, if one reads deeply enough and perhaps "between the lines", each of these writers puts their emphasis on a different side of the balance. Krishnamurti, at times, almost denigrates the intellect in order to stress the importance of intelligence or intuition which he says is the highest order of intelligence. He puts it in other words when he states, "Mere education of the conscious without understanding the unconscious brings contradiction into human lives (1958:26). He believes that "the hidden mind is far more vital and vigorous than the superficial" (1958:27). Although Krishnamurti feels the need to integrate the total being, the undeniable core to that is found in the inner being, in one's intelligence and that is reiterated quite plainly in the following quote:

> Intelligence is much greater than intellect, for it is the integration of reason and love; but there can be intelligence only when there is self-knowledge, the deep understanding of the total process of oneself (1953:65).

Krishnamurti argues that it is necessary to go beyond the intellect, beyond all aspects of mind and the construct of time in order to penetrate to the quintessence of the learning process. It is in these aspects of his philosophy that he goes more deeply into the functioning of the mind than Montessori does. For example, Krishnamurti states that,

> A mind that functions in time is still a limited mind. But a mind which does not function in time is extraordinarily alert, is tremendously alive and can impart its aliveness to a mind which is still seeking, enquiring, innocent. So we have discovered something new (1964:68).

This is certainly an unusual idea and may be difficult for many to comprehend. Most readers might regard such a statement as being unscientific, not able to be tested and therefore with no validity. Yet those who have studied his writings (such as physicist David Bohm) and have come to understand his mode of thinking believe he is discovering new insights and he is not 'just another Indian guru' pontificating without any substance. Although the foregoing discussion is somewhat tangential, the important issue is that Krishnamurti's writings point in the direction of understanding *beyond time*. To him, this means that there must be no attachments to people, to places, to opinions.

Montessori, on the other hand, is very much attached to reality, to the here and now. This is indicated in the following statement:

> When man loses himself in mere speculations, his environment will remain unchanged, but when imagination starts from contact with reality, thought begins to construct works by means of which the external world becomes transformed (1965:199).

She does not deny that there are persons who have had "non-sensorial impressions" yet she feels since these are such rare occurrences, these "spiritual impressions" need to be set aside. Therefore, she insists, "the single material of construction for intellectual activities [is] that of the senses. Imagination can have only a sensory basis" (1965:205). In an earlier section Montessori had quoted the Aristotlian axiom that "there is nothing in the intellect which was not first in the senses" (1965:203). Therefore, her analysis of the child rests very much on a model of the rational human being whose attributes can be discovered through the science of observation. Yet it cannot be said that Montessori denies that irrational or extra-sensory perceptions exist for in other passages when she is discussing the essence of moral education, she turns to the intangible qualities that need to be developed - "to keep alive and to perfect psychical sensibility is the essence of moral education" (1965:277). She says that moral education cannot be taught just as religious education cannot be taught but rather the child comes to perceive the teacher's spirit.

> And undoubtedly the day will come when his spirit will become sensitive to our spirit; and then he will begin to taste that supreme delight which lies in the intimate contact of soul with soul and our voice will no longer be heard by his ear alone (1965:277).

No doubt one might suspect that the teachers that Montessori and Krishnamurti have imagined for their schools of "right education" would be very rare individuals. Indeed they are; yet they represent people from almost all nationalities and of varying types of personalities and backgrounds. Nevertheless, it is easy to see in their respective writings many common qualities that Montessori and Krishnamurti want their teachers to have.

The Teacher

It is significant that both Krishnamurti and Montessori state that they would rather not have government-trained teachers in their schools. Montessori would prefer to take a young woman[4] who had not had any teacher training and train her in her own methods. This was mainly because she felt her method of teaching was in direct opposition to that used in government schools. She put it this way:

> A new type of mistress has evolved; instead of facility in speech, she has to acquire the power of silence; instead of teaching, she has to observe, instead of the proud dignity of one who claims to be infallible, she assumes the vesture of humility (1965:105).

Krishnamurti goes so far as to say that "teaching should not become a specialist's profession" (1953:46). He also says that "people who have no academic degrees often make the best teachers because they are willing to experiment; not being specialists, they are interested in learning" (1953:109).

For Krishnamurti the important thing is for the teacher to have "a burning desire to teach" (1953:109). He sees the teacher more as an artist than a technician for if the teacher relies on technique the child will be fragmented. He feels that it is only through love that the child can develop as an integrated being. He feels, of course, that the fundamental problem in education is the educator for very few know what love is, that is, to love with no attachment. He also believes that there is "no method by which one can become the right kind of educator (1953:111). He would encourage the teachers to "find out what experiments are being made in education in different parts of the world" (1953:104) and to be constantly questioning their own approach and what the purpose of education should be.

The main message that Krishnamurti offers teachers is to know their own values, why they hold them as values, and also to know the importance of human relationship and their relationship to nature and the total environment. He writes that,

> It is the function of the educator to examine deeply his own thoughts and feelings and to put aside those values which have given him security and comfort, for only then can he help his students to be self-aware and to understand their own urges and fears" (1953:38).

Krishnamurti does not want a teacher who is in any way dogmatic or attached to an ideology because this would mean he would be guiding the child toward a particular goal which would block the child's freedom to discover him/herself. As stated above, he feels there is no method to train the educator nor does he feel that the educator should adopt a particular method; thus he says: "If the teacher is of the right kind, he will not depend on a method, but will study each individual child" (1953:27).

Like Montessori, Krishnamurti believes in observation as a key to understanding the nature of a child. He states that: "To understand a child we have to watch him at play, study him in his different moods; we cannot project upon him our own prejudices, hopes and fears, or mould him to fit the pattern of our desires (1953:47). Montessori writes in a similar vein:

> The fundamental quality [of the teacher] is the capacity for "observation"; a quality so important that the positive sciences were also called "science of observation" a term which was changed into "experimental" sciences for those in which observation is combined with experiment (1965:107).

Some writers have accused Montessori of developing a method and allowing no further experimentation to alter that method. This would be a decided disadvantage to utilizing Montessori's ideas as there is some truth in the warning of Krishnamurti that "strict adherence to a particular method indicates sluggishness on the part of the educator" (1953:23).

Yet, we disagree with those who describe Montessori as desiring no experimentation. There are places in her writing, e.g. The Montessori Method,where she states that "I believe that I have arrived at a selection of objects representing the minimum necessary to a practical sense education (1964:169). These objects constituted her didactic system. She felt that all of the didactic materials had to be used as a set and that those wanting to use them should undergo training either under her or someone trained by her to enable them to understand correctly the use of the materials. Yet, in the same book, she says, "I do not claim to have brought to perfection the method of sense training as applied to young children" (1964:215).

Further, in her introduction to The Formation of Man, written almost a half-century after she started her educational work, she has stated that it may have been a mistake to have termed her ideas as a "method" because this term has obstructed her message. She suggests that,

> For the word, "method," we should substitute something like this: "Help given in order that the human personality may achieve its independence," or "means offered to deliver the human personality from the oppression of age-old prejudices regarding education" (1975:5).

She goes on to compare the stage of her ideas on educating the child to the period of Galvani in relation to The Atomic Age.

> What I have shown in the immense potentiality of the child, she said again and again, is the existence of an energy which previously had not been taken into consideration. But as far as its utilisation or knowledge about it is concerned, we are still at the stage of Galvani when he realised that the flexing legs of the dead and decorticated frogs were due to some mysterious energy. He pointed this out and thus created the interest in electricity that evolved into atomic science (quoted in the foreword to The Advanced Montessori Method, written by Mario Montessori, 1965:xii).

In other words, the science of education is very young and much more experimentation is necessary, and indeed, desirable. She did not feel as though she had created the perfect system and she repeatedly remonstrated her "followers" not to look to her but to look to the child for the child holds the secret to the creation of a new human being.

Although she describes the necessity for experimentation and the need for a scientific pedagogy to develop, she does not see her teachers as merely scientists.

> The vision of the teacher should be at once precise like that of the scientist, and spiritual like that of the saint. The preparation for science and the preparation for sanctity should form a new soul, for the attitude of the teacher should be at once positive, scientific and spiritual (1965:113).

This may sound as though Montessori would desire to have a teacher who is more a scientist or one skilled in technique than an artist. Yet she distinguishes between the "spirit" of the scientist and his mere "mechanical skill":

> It is my belief that the thing we should cultivate in our teachers is more the spirit than the mechanical skill of the scientist; that is, the direction of the preparation should be toward the spirit rather than toward the mechanism (1964:9).

She wanted to awaken in the educator "an interest in natural phenomenon" so that he or she would carry out experiments and be ever observant of the child's nature. For she argues it is "from the child itself he will learn how to perfect himself as an educator" (1964:13). And in another place she states that it is the "art of the educator" to know what type of action to use in helping the child's personality to develop - when there should be no intervention and when actual teaching is demanded (1964:231).

She also feels that the teacher should not teach any particular dogma or ideology. She uses almost the same language that Krishnamurti does in describing the need for the teacher to be without prejudice or fear:

> Not in the service of any political or social creed should the teacher work, but in the service of the complete human being, able to exercise in freedom a self-disciplined will and judgment, unperverted by prejudice and undistorted by fear (1973:3).

Another point which is somewhat contentious among "Montessorians"[5] is the extent to which the teacher's "personality" should disappear, that is, that the teacher should make herself almost invisible. There are passages in which Montessori indicates this in so many words: "there remains for the teacher nothing but to observe" (1964:173). Yet she also emphasizes the importance of the personality of the teacher, of her "spirit" and "soul" that must be ever-present so that when a child feels the need to come into contact with the teacher's soul, the psychic relationship between the teacher and the child is readily established. In fact, she decided to change the name of the teacher into that of directress. At first this provoked many smiles for people thought she had no one to direct since the child educates him/herself. But, she explained, "her direction is much more profound and important than that which is commonly understood for this teacher directs the life and the soul" (1964:173).

Those "Montessorians" who argue that the teacher's "personality" should disappear, also describe the teacher as showing little emotion, not responding to the child either positively or negatively, not frowning if the child is making an error nor smiling in approval of a job well done. Yet, again, this is not borne out in Montessori's writings for she describes the need for the child, in the beginning, to seek external authority to make sure they are on the right path. "The teacher must then respond with a word of approval, encouraging him with a smile, like that of a mother to her baby" (1967:274). Nevertheless, she asserts that the need for obtaining the approval of an adult should diminish as the child grows and becomes more independent.

In summary, for both Krishnamurti and Montessori the teacher should be a warm and loving individual. They both believe that the teacher should be attractive, have an aesthetic sense in dress and be in harmony with the environment. This may not mean "beautiful" in the cultural sense but possessing an inner beauty that children immediately sense and to which they are drawn. For Krishnamurti, the personality of the teacher is the lynchpin of his "right education", yet for Montessori, the "prepared environment" is almost as equally important as the "right educator".

The Environment

Just as the teacher should be aesthetically pleasing in appearance, so the environment should be pleasing to the senses. Montessori writes about the attractiveness of the environment in general as follows:

> But what is above all essential is that it should be artistically beautiful. In this case, beauty is not produced by superfluity or luxury, but by grace and harmony of line and color, combined with that absolute simplicity necessitated by the lightness of the furniture (1965A:143-4).

Krishnamurti writes about the cultivation of good taste, knowing how to combine colours, how to wear colours that do not jar; yet, he says, "good taste is not the appreciation of beauty. Beauty is never personal.... To appreciate beauty is to see a mountain, to see the lovely trees without the 'you' being there (1974:28). Therefore, most of his schools are set in surroundings away from the hustle and bustle of city life. They are in naturally beautiful environments, in valleys surrounded by mountains or on large acerages in the middle of groves of trees. To him, nature and the observation of nature are important in a learning environment.

For Krishnamurti, another important aspect of the environment is that the child should feel secure in it. He says, "it should be the soil in which they can grow without fear, happily and integrally (1953:44). Krishnamurti also talks of the need for spontaneity and affection in the learning situation:

> There is, in both learning and love, a movement of freshness, a movement which is spontaneous, which is not held by circumstances. It is a free movement. So there is a tenuous, delicate connection between the two. But to learn and to love there must be a great deal of affection (1974:48).

Krishnamurti talks about the need for spontaneity and the need for freedom; yet as far as we have read, he does not deal with the need for movement in the classroom. In a way, he leaves this decision up to the teacher and in his writings, we believe, he is referring more to the need for intellectual freedom and sponaneity of the intelligence than to physical freedom or movement.

A problem in comparing Krishnamurti and Montessori concerning the type of learning environment they envisioned is that Montessori started with developing an environment for 3 to 6 year olds, the famous Casa dei Bambini (Children's House) and Krishnamurti first started with a boarding school for secondary students and writes mostly about teaching older children. No doubt he feels it is important to begin by educating the very young and now many of his schools begin with pre-school children. Nevertheless he does not address the question of physical movement. He does believe that there should be dance and music, art and yoga and physical games but he does not recommend the necessity of physical movement while carrying out intellectual activities. For Montessori, this is one of her principal elements - children must be physically active and allowed to "be free to go and come as they like, throughout the entire day" (1964:81).

Of course, it is the teacher's duty to see that the children's movement is directed toward "useful" work. In this description of her "Children's House", Montessori encapsulates her philosophy of movement and discipline or freedom and order:

> A room in which all the children move about usefully, intelligently, and voluntarily, without committing any rought or rude act, would seem to me a classroom very well disciplined indeed (1964:93).

Montessori's description of the "prepared environment", her didactic materials and other aspects of the "method" are worked out in great detail in her books, The Montessori Method and The Advanced Montessori Method, Volumes I and II. There is no need to describe these in this paper; nevertheless, we wish to point out that she asserts that her method was devised from the observation of free children who develop through auto-education to become independent thinkers. Her aim in the cognitive development of the child is "to be able to distinguish, classify and catalogue external things on the basis of a secure order already established in the mind" (1965:169-170). She did not feel that intelligence was based on the accumulation of knowledge, not based on "photographing objects and keeping them one upon the other like the pages in an album," rather the quality of intelligence is "to build up its internal structure" so that it is capable of distinguishing and extracting the dominant characteristics of objects" (1965:173).

Krishnamurti is also against the accumulation of knowledge or knowledge for knowledge sake. He said in one of his talks with teachers:

> I am not against knowledge. There is a difference between learning and acquiring knowledge. Learning ceases when there is only accumulation of knowledge. .... When knowledge becomes all important learning ceases.... Learning is never an additive process. When one is learning, it is an active process (1974:62).

Although Krishnamurti asserts that there should be no method in the "right education", he does indicate through his writings and through his behaviour a particular method that he feels can penetrate beyond the "self" to the inner being and that is the "Socratic method". He uses a process of question and answer where there is no teacher or taught but in a collaborative way they seek the "truth". He writes:

> Only by encouraging the child to question the book, whatever it be, to inquire into the validity of the existing social values, traditions, forms of government, religious beliefs and so on, can the educator and parents hope to awaken and sustain his critical alertness and keen insight" (1953:41).

To develop this alertness and the flowering of the inner mind, Krishnamurti appears to rely principally on observation of nature and on penetrating inquiry; whereas Montessori relies on manipulation of her didactic materials to increase discrimination in the senses. Both of these educators stress the need to develop "free thinkers" and independent human beings. As well as their stress on individuality and condemnation of mass instruction, both writers also denigrate competition and competitive evaluation. Krishnamurti says: "real learning comes about when the competitive spirit has ceased" (1974:76). And further, on the question of evaluation or giving grades:

> Giving grades and marks to the student does not cultivate intelligence. On the contrary, it degrades the human dignity of understanding. This comparative evaluation cripples the mind - which does not mean that the teacher does not observe the progress of every student and keep a record of it (1958:7).

Montessori would thoroughly agree with what Krishnamurti has written concerning comparative evaluation. Equally Krishnamurti would wholeheartedly agree with Montessori's forceful statement about the need to abolish prizes and punishments:

> The prize and the punishment are incentives toward unnatural or forceful effort, and therefore we certainly cannot speak of the natural development of the child in connection with them. The jockey offers a piece of sugar to his horse before jumping into the saddle, the coachman beats his horse that he may respond to the signs given by the reins. And, yet, neither of these runs so superbly as the free horse of the plains (1964:21).

To conclude this section on environment, a final quote from Krishnamurti summarizes what both of these educators feel is the essence of the "right" educational environment:

> To develop self-expression, you must have from a tender age, the suitable environment that will give you the opportunity for expansion physically, emotionally and mentally, so that in this natural condition you can grow without fear, without being thwarted, so that your sense of perception of what is essential shall be entirely left to you and not be dominated by another (1930:11).

Their Schools in Practice

It is one thing to read about an educator's philosophy and another to see the philosophy put into practice. We have had the opportunity, over the past year, to visit at least twenty Montessori schools in the United States (18), Australia (1), and India (1) and four Krishnamurti Foundation schools in India (3) and the United States (1).

First, we should preface my remarks about these schools by saying that there is no such thing as a "pure" Montessori school or a "pure" Krishnamurti school. The schools varied according to their cultural, natural and physical environments, according to their clientele and, probably most imnportantly, according to the personality of their teachers. Among the Krishnamurti schools, some had boarding facilities and others were only for day students. Therefore, here, we will not try to describe each school as a separate entity, even though they each have their separate "personalities" or identities, for this would be too elaborate for the purpose of this paper. Rather, we will attempt to select what I saw as the similarities and differences in the overall atmosphere of the schools. There will be times when we will describe an aspect of a school that was exceptional or atypical from the others yet, on the whole, we will highlight what we saw as the essential aspects that were common to the schools of each type.

To begin, we should state that this project began as a study of alternative schools, that is education which is alternative to what is "traditionally" found in government schools. By most accounts, Krishnamurti's and Montessori's concepts of education would be antithetical to what is found in most government schools, i.e. no examinations, no grades, no competition, no prizes or punishment, freedom of movement, and a small number of students per teacher, to note a few of the differences. What, for me, was a truly amazing situation was the fact that Montessori's system of education has, in the last ten years, been adopted by at least 55 public systems of education in the United States. We saw two of these schools, one in the Cincinnati Public School System and the other in the Dallas Public School System. These two schools cater to pupils who are very different from those in most Montessori schools. For the most part, Montessori schools in the United States, Australia and India are privately-run and attract students from the middle and upper classes. The fees range from as low as $800 a year to as high as $3,000 a year in the United States. In contrast, the Montessori public schools in Cincinnati and Dallas are in the heart of the slums and have the highest number of children on welfare in their respective city systems. They also have a high proportion of children from middle-class, professional homes because the main reason these schools were established was to attract children from the outer suburbs to the inner city so that the public school system could comply with integration legislation without forced busing. As a result both lower class and middle class parents are receiving an alternative education that they desperately desire. The test scores of the children have skyrocketed so that they are now way above the national norms and near the top of the schools within the city system.

The Krishnamurti Foundation (hereafter referred to as KF) schools visited are catering mainly to upper middle and upper class children. A few scholarship places in each school are reserved for children of the lower classes. The fees would prohibit all but the fairly well-to-do to attend these schools. However, the Krishnamurti Foundation of India has established village schools in Rishi Valley and Rajghat and a free school for the poor in Bombay. Although the main clientele for both Montessori and Krishnamurti schools is an elite one, there has not been a total neglect of the poor.

Both the Montessori and KF schools are similar in being co-educational and also in having, in general, a low pupil to teacher ratio. In the Montessori schools the pupil/teacher ratio was from a low of 8:1 in a university Montessori Laboratory school to a high of 25:1 in the public Montessori schools although some classrooms had teaching assistants or interns which again reduced the pupil to teacher ratio. The KF school in Ojai, California has the lowest pupil/teacher ratio (12:1) among the KF schools while The Rishi Valley School in India had the highest ratio (25:1).

The Children

On entering both Montessori and KF schools we sensed a great joy in the learning process and we could feel that the children liked being in the schools. The children greeted us with an openness and a friendliness that we felt was generated from the school environment. There was also a peacefulness in these schools. This did not mean there was no conflict or dispute between children and their teachers or among teachers; there were. But, on the whole, the communities were harmonious ones. The sounds we heard were the hum of children busy at their work, the laughter and gay chatter on the playground. We did not hear loud voices, angry shouts or see children pushing and shoving each other on the playground. The children in the Montessori schools were freer in their movement in and out of the classroom since movement is built into Montessori's method. Aside from the pre-schools in KF schools that ran along modified Montessori methods, the children generally sat at desks or tables with very little mobility during the lessons. They were free to ask to be excused from the classroom to go to the bathroom or to get a drink but generally they sat at their desks (granted, some of these had been cut to a low size so that the children could sit on pillows or on the floor in front of their desks).

In none of the Montessori or KF schools did we ever see violence, neither corporal punishment nor harsh language was used. The children, on the whole, were extremely well behaved. The children in one of the KF schools in India tended to be a bit disruptive in the classroom and the teachers comnplained of the children abusing their freedom yet, to our knowledge, they did not physically punish the children but merely hoped that they would gain greater responsibility for their actions as they matured. The children in this school were extremely bright, happy and energetic and we believe with greater mobility in the learning environment and more individualization in the instructional process, the children would use their freedom with greater personal responsibility and the teachers would not have to wait until the tenth standard for them to become mature learners. (It would be a tragedy to dampen their spontaneity and eagerness for learning by using authoritarian techniques.)

The Teachers

The teachers in both types of schools, as a group, appear highly dedicated to educating children and talked about Montessori's and Krishnamurti's ideas, respectively, with almost missionary fervour. The teachers seemed more serious-minded than the average "government" teacher; they were eager to talk about new educational ideas and debate some of the old arguments in education. On the whole, the teachers in both types of schools were highly educated with at least a Bachelor of Education degree but many times with post-graduate degrees to the PhD level. Although these teachers were trying to implement particular educational philosophies, they were open to new ideas and willing to experiment. This, surprisingly, was true more so of the Montessori teachers than the Krishnamurti ones. (It should be noted here that the Montessori schools visited were mostly affiliated with the American Montessori Society which is known for being more eclectic and more willing to incorporate ideas from other educators besides Montessori.) In sum, the teachers could be described as vital people, alert intellectually and deeper thinkers than the average person. The Krishnamurti teachers tended to be more spiritually-inclined and to think more deeply about their own cultural conditioning. Yet we must hasten to add that some of the deepest thinkers we encountered were teachers in a Krishnamurti school who were using a modified Montessori method in the pre-school.

The teachers were generally paid rather low salaries in both types of schools, except for those in the Montessori public schools. It could be conjectured that most teachers were working because they were satisfied with their jobs, they enjoyed teaching and they did not need to work for a living (the teachers we interviewed said that they were happy and liked teaching). For example, in India many of the Krishnamurti teachers could not afford to even own a scooter whereas in the United States they could not afford to run a car. This indicates that the teachers were barely earning a living wage, according to their respective society's standards.

In both types of schools there was a genuine affection and caring for children. This was more so in the case in the KF schools because a principal criterion for selecting teachers in KF schools is that the individual should be of a loving nature. In the KF schools there is a genuine camaraderie among the teachers and a feeling that they are working together to create a loving atmosphere where the children can enjoy learning. Teachers in Montessori schools have generally gone through a process of self-selection to undertake Montessori training and then to start their own schools. This does not mean that they would be any less caring as individual teachers. Nevertheless, we would have to say that in my observation we saw more open display of affection and love in the KF schools than in most Montessori schools.

The Environment

Krishnamurti schools were set in beautiful natural surroundings - oases away from the hustle and bustle of city life. The school in California had the most aesthetically pleasing buildings that were constructed in wood to blend in with the surrounding oak grove. The buildings in India would not receive design awards and were not in the best condition, but the beauty of their natural surroundings tended to lessen the barrenness of the classrooms.

The Montessori schools were in a variety of environments from the basement of churches, nursing homes for the aged, to their own schools equipped with gymnasiums, swimming pools and elaborate resource centres. The classroom environments, almost without exception, were extremely artistic. There was a desire on the part of the teachers to make every activity aesthetic and to then arrange the activities on shelves in a harmonious manner. The classrooms usually had attractive wall-hangings and colourful paintings and many potted plants to make the children feel like they were in a home rather than in an 'institution'. Sometimes the schools were located in homes and the attempt was made to change them as little as posdsible into school-like environments. Many schools had pets and gardens to grow vegetables and flowers. They had creative outdoor play areas and generally allowed the children the freedom to move in and out of the classroom whenever they chose. Some parents did not feel as relaxed about this freedom as the teachers were because they saw school as a place for work and home as a place for play. Montessori teachers, for the most part, do not make a distinction between work and play and encourage the children to consider all of their activities as their 'work'.

Nevertheless, there was tremendous pressure from the parents in both types of schools to develop academic excellence and the educational programmes were affected by this pressure. Therefore, there was much more stress on intellectual skills and cognitive achievement than on developing the affective side and enhancing the sensitivity of the children although this may have been slightly more catered to in the KF schools, through drama, dance, music and what was known as culture classes where there was an emphasis on discussing values and personal relationships. On the other hand, the emphasis on cognitive development was carried out in a very traditional manner in KF schools. Although there was great autonomy given to the individual teachers to choose a suitable method and to do whatever they desired within their classroom, the methods chosen separated teachers from each other in isolated classroom settings (i.e. there was little team-teaching or open-teaching methods). The teachers tended to teach their group of children as a total group without individualizing their instruction, with little peer-teaching and generally they relied on a teacher-dominated lesson format. It appeared as though little experimentation was taking place with such educational ideas as contract teaching, individually-paced learning, group projects and simulation/role playing activities (although a little of this was seen). Whereas Montessori had incorporated many of these "newer" educational ideas in her "method" so we saw vertical grouping (3-6, 6-9, 9-12) with a lot of peer teaching and of course almost total individualization of learning activities although small groups worked together and occasionally class lessons were presented in Montessori schools.

Because the Montessori schools tended to be mostly pre-schools with a few schools continuing on to the junior high level, they did not feel the effects of government examinations for entrance into university education. Whereas KF schools were particularly affected by the government examinations when the children reached the secondary level. As a consequence even the lower grades were affected, perhaps out of administrative convenience rather than out of educational necessity to prepare children for examinations. The effects were seen in rigid timetabling, an increasingly greater amount of homework with each higher grade level, more class examinations and a greater emphasis on accumulation of knowledge rather than inquiring into the nature of knowledge. Government textbooks and syllabuses were used and followed almost to the letter, especially in the Indian higher secondary levels. In the lower grades, the pressure was kept to a minimum and here there was much more spontaneity in the learning process. As mentioned above, there was more of a stress on art, music and drama in the KF schools, especially in India where the children entered into these activities with great enthusiasm and with a considerable amount of talent. Yet, we think, the best art teacher we have ever seen was one in the Cincinnati Montessori public school. She had all the children selecting their own art activities from about twenty different choices and each child became very quickly absorbed in their own artistic creation. When they were finished with one activity, they were free to walk around and choose another one which they readily became engaged in with a minimum of teacher instruction. The class was amazing to watch - there were some children painting, others weaving, others creating collages out of mixed materials, one or two mixing paints and discriminating colours, while others were solving perception puzzles. It was a high stimulating environment. The teacher, of course, was constantly on the move answering questions and giving instructions but her major task had been to prepare such a creative environment. We never saw children sitting, waiting to be told what to do next, or queueing for materials or messing around in a corner. There was a constant hum of activity. And the teacher was full of vitality, a very dynamic woman. You could feel this in the atmosphere in the room and we are sure the children were responding to her dynamism. Another excellent music program that we saw was in the Dallas Montessori public school where the children were learning to play the violin using the "Suzuki" method and it appeared to be quite a successful program from the performance at Parents' Night that I attended. We are pointing out these two examples to demonstrate that a lot of energy and creativity is being poured into Montessori schools to develop exciting art and music programs. Montessori schools have been criticized for the lack of these in the past.

In both types of schools there is tremendous parental interest in the children's education but only a limited amount of parental involvement. Again there were exceptions to this. In the Montessori public school in Cincinnati we saw a university professor of engineering instructing teacher aides on how to assist the children to use the challenging playground equipment he had designed and helped build. Parents in that school were involved in taking the children on excursions, coming into the classroom to give lessons and also raising money for the school. Both Montessori and Krishnamurti stress the importance of educating the parents so that there is a continuity of learning environments between the home and the school. Both types of schools had active programs of education and many meetings with the pareents to discuss the aims of their respective educational philosophies and also the progress of individual children. In the latter way, both types of schools exemplified the lack of competitive environments and comparative evaluations and reported either verbally to the parents about their children's progress or wrote detailed, descriptive statements to inform the parents of how each individual child was progressing.

Concluding Comments

Montessori's and Krishnamurti's philosophies have more similarities than differences. The schools in practice have the common element that the children love being at school. They have succeeded as alternative schools in de-institutionalising the learning process and making the teacher-pupil relationship a caring and loving one.

In the final analysis, one main difference that appears as a stark contrast between the two types of education is the approach to method. Krishnamurti scorns adopting a particular method while Montessori tried to design a method that was based on her observation of the 'natural' child. Krishnamurti fears that teachers will become too mechanistic and cease to experiment with new ideas if they become too attached to a particular method. Indeed that may happen; yet in our experience, the Montessori teachers were anything but mechanistic and they were eager to learn of new ideas and to try them out in their classrooms.

The beauty of the Montessori classroom was that the teachers could take time to observe the child and adhere to Montessori's own warning, "follow the child" and they have not been afraid to question aspects of Montessori's philosophy that are being investigated by researchers in recent years (this applies particularly to teachers affiliated with the American Montessori Society). Yet they still kept the essential ingredients of the Montessori Method even though their teaching styles may have varied considerably. Tom Banta who wrote a paper which asked, "Is there such a thing as the Montessori Method?" concluded that despite the differences in teaching styles that there was a recognizable method and he identified four basic Montessori orientations that could be relevant to all pre-school education (we would extend these to all levels of education):

(1) the pre-school should be child-centred in terms of physical scale and conceptual scale;

(2) the pre-school should be concerned with the development of freedom in the child;

(3) the pre-school should not be afraid of structure for the child in its quest for the child's freedom, and

(4) the pre-school should be concerned with the moral development of the child and that is, to borrow A.S. Neil's phrase, "freedom without license". (Banta, 1966:6).

We believe that Krishnamurti's schools could benefit by experimenting with educational methods that cater for greater individualization. This could be extended to the idea of even adopting a modified Montessori Method which seems to be in harmony with Krishnamurti's ideas.

FOOTNOTES

1 Krishnamurti broke away from the Theosophical Society in August 1929 when he denounced the Theosophical Society's claim that he was the Second Messiah. He dissolved the Order of the Star of the East which was organised to assist in the work of the "World Teacher". In 1934 he was literally thrown out of the Theosophical Society Headquarters at Adyar and did not set foot on the grounds again until 1981 when he was invited there by the present President of the Theosophical Society, Rahdia Burnier. (See Lutyens, Krishnamurti, The Years of Awakening, 1975, for a fascinating biography of the first thirty-eight years of Krishnamurti's life.)

2 In this paper we employ the present tense when referring to Montessori because we are not referring to the person but to her ideas expressed in her writings.

3 "Normalized", according to Montessori, refers to when a child learns to concentrate on a task and begins to have intrinsic discipline.

4 Montessori refers to training young women because her first teachers were women; however, in India she trained both men and women and in many countries today there are both male and female Montessori teachers.

5 The word "Montessorians" is an umbrella term that belies the many associations that have been formed to carry on the work of Maria Montessori. Rita Kramer in her biography of Maria Montessori (1976) gives a detailed account of the Montessori movement. The major split in the United States is between the Association Montessori Internationale (AMI) and the American Montessori Society (AMS). The former association was founded by Maria Montessori, then carried on by her son, Mario Montessori, until his death in 1975, and is seen to attract followers who adhere more literally to the Montessori method. The latter group (AMS) split from AMI because it wanted to be more eclectic and to add new insights gained from recent research findings into child development.

REFERENCES

Banta, Tom, 1966, "Is There Really a Montessori Method?". Paper presented at the joint meeting of the Ohio Psychological Association and the Ohio Psychiatric Association in Cincinnati, Ohio, February 16.

Boyd, William (ed.), 1962, The Emile of Jean Jacques Rousseau. New York: Teachers College Press.

Kramer, Rita, 1976, Maria Montessori. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons.

Krishnamurti, Jiddu, 1930, "The Purpose of Education". An Address to the National College, Trichinopoly, India, January 12.

REFERENCES

Krishnamurti, Jiddu, 1953, Education and the Significance of Life. Ojai, California: Krishnamurti Writings, Inc.

Krishnamurti, Jiddu, 1958, On Learning. Ojai, California: Krishnamurti Writings, Inc.

Krishnamurti, Jiddu, 1974, Krishnamurti on Education. New Delhi: Orient Longman, Ltd.

Krishnamurti, Jiddu, 1982,"The Eternal Renewal", Bulletin, Krishnamurti Foundation, India, No. 3.

Lutyens, Mary, 1985, Krishnamurti, The Years of Awakening. New York: Avon Books.

Montessori, Maria, 1933, The Mass Explained to Children. New York: Sheed and Ward Publishers.

Montessori, Maria, 1942, Reconstruction in Education. Adyar, Madras: The Theosophical Publishing House.

Montessori, Maria, 1943, Peace and Education. Adyar, Madras: The Theosophical Publishing House.

Montessori, Maria, 1964, The Montessori Method. (First published in 1912) New York: Schocken Books, Inc.

Montessori, Maria, 1965, The Advanced Montessori Method, Volume I. (First published in 1918.) Adyar, Madras: The Theosophical Publishing House.

Montessori, Maria, 1965A, Spontaneous Activity in Education. (The Advanced Montessori Method, first published in English in 1917.) New York: Schocken Books, Inc.

Montessori, Maria, 1967, The Absorbent Mind. (First published in 1949.) Madras: Kalekshetra Publications Press.

Montessori, Maria, 1975, The Formation of Man. Madras: Kalakshetra Publications Press.

Niel, Andre, 1957, Krishnamurti: The Man in Revolt. Bombay: Chetana Publishers.

Neill, A.S., 1960, Summerhill: A Radical Approach to Child Rearing. New York: Hart Publishing Company, Inc.

Schmid, Jeannine, Religion, Montessori and the Home. New York: Benziger Bros.

POT AND PARTIES ON THE BEACH, PROCESSIONS AND PIETY IN THE VILLAGE: A COMPARISON OF TWO LEARNING EXPERIENCES IN GOA.

R.S. NEWMAN

I want to write about two things here. First, I want to discuss the journey of young Westerners to Goa, more explictly, their stay amongst the Goans. I want to point out that this journey, while being certainly what we call "tourism" nowadays, although not of the mass variety, is very similar to the journeys many Goans undertake. Goan journeys or pilgrimages are to the temples or churches of their ancestral villages and towns. At first these two sorts of trip may seem entirely different. I argue that they are not. Secondly, I want to show that both Westerners and Goans are participating in important and valuable learning experiences. They learn about themselves, the world, and the nature of Man by becoming pilgrims or tourists. The "hippie" trip and the Goan zatra or feast day are very central to participants' self-image, attitudes, behaviour, values and sympathies. If such things are being learned or at least, communicated, then surely this paper and the two types of event are most relevant to education. Let us start with a brief description of the phenomena we are discussing.

THE BEACH

Since the late 1960s, young Westerners (Europeans, Americans, and Australians with a few Japanese, New Zealanders and rich South Americans added) have made Goa one of the key points of the "hippie circuit" in Asia. Other such places include Bali, Lake Toba, the island of Koh Samui in Thailand, Penang, Kathmandu, Pushkar, (in India's Rajasthan state), Hikkaduwa in Sri Lanka, and Kabul. For political reasons there have been subtractions and additions over the years. Goa has remained a constant magnet for so-called freaks and youthful travellers in general for over 15 years with the height of popularity between 1968 and 1974. Why Goa?

Goa, a small region on the Arabian Sea coast south of Bombay, has an excellent climate for much of the year, warm but with sea breezes. Only during the monsoon months of June through October is the sea too rough and the rain too frequent for a placid life on the beach. The beaches are the main attraction; long, white, palm-fringed and strewn with tiny shells and starfish, a lotuseater's dream. 450 years of Portuguese rule have made Goa a different sort of place than the rest of India. Alcohol is freely available, not always the case in other sections of India, and Goa has its own fiery drink, feni, made from cashew fruit or coconut. The villages by the sea are largely Catholic, with whitewashed churches, cool houses with tile roofs, clean and equipped with electricity. Many of the villages are populated by fishermen who pull their boats onto the beach and sort their catch there as well. The boats serve as sunshades for less avid sunworshippers. People wear Western dress and like to think of themselves as more in touch with Western culture, particularly music, than other Indians. Whether or not this is true is beside the point. A number of people do speak English and Portuguese. There are no large and overcrowded cities, though this is changing. In places where there is little industry and fish, rice, fruit and liquor are plentiful, price levels are low. This has been true in Goa. Finally, drugs, mainly marijuana and hashish, have been cheap and easily found. To sum up, Western youth choose to come to Goa in particular because it is cheap, beautiful, has a good climate, good food, available drugs, and few hassles.

Though in the early years, when Goa's reputation as a "freak centre" was made, there may have been several thousand youths on the beaches at any one time, today, during the season (basically December through April) there are about 1,000 of what Goans refer to still as "hippies" scattered along some 60 kilometers of coastline on about nine beaches. A small sector of Goa's economy now depends on these people ... they rent houses and motorcycles, they buy food, eat at little cafes and the inevitable fruit-salad and yoghurt-shake stands, buy souvenirs, drugs, liquor, and tickets on buses or for cultural shows. They often come into towns and eat at more expensive restaurants. (These Western "hippies" as opposed to older, well-heeled "tourists" do not stay in the luxury hotels).

The "hippies" do not lead an active life. Neither do they show much interest in Goan culture or Goan life, usually content to observe what they can of it from the safety of their own communities along the beaches. Life is slow. Some would call it dull. Most are renting entire houses in small groups or renting rooms in Goan houses. Some stay in small hotels or sleep on the beach. (This last is usually discouraged by the police). People get up late. The first joint (marijuana cigarette) is rolled and lit along with morning tea. The villages are quiet except for the ever-present crows, watchful in the palms. The routine is to read, play scrabble or cards, or talk desultorily until lunch time. The little communities then gather at beach side cafes or "freak food" stands. The lunch groups may or may not be segregated by nationality. If there are only a small total number they may all eat and talk together, otherwise Anglo-saxons, Scandinavians and sometimes Germans form one set; French, Italians and Swiss another. English and French are the two main languages. After lunch one either goes back to the house for a siesta (and some more marijuana) or sits around chatting the afternoon away. When the heat abates, that is the time for people to emerge to sunbathe, walk the beach, or sometimes to play soccer, swim, or engage in other activity. Sunset brings out nearly everyone. Individuals and small groups sit in the sand, mostly in silence, watching the sun sink into the warm copper sea. To comment on the beauty is to be gauche, trite, and most definitely a newcomer. It is a near sacred moment. The travellers then head for the cafes and restaurants and afterwards, often, to parties where drugs and liquor are available and rock music blasts into the night. People return home very late or not until morning.

There is a lot of casual nudity, total or partial. Sex does not seem any more available than among Westerners in general, though this was not the case ten years ago when orgies are said to have been common. Once a week, on a few beaches, there are flea markets run by Westeners. Curios from other parts of Asia, Western goods of high interest to Indians, articles made by long-staying craftsmen, tapes and drugs are on sale. Overall, the daily life of "hippies" in Goa is not very exciting. It may sound just the thing for those of us in the ratrace, but once there many people would find that such inactivity would quickly pall.

Relations between "hippies" and Goans have always been touchy but because of the generally tolerant views of Indian society towards diverse behaviour, the young Westerners remain, an enclave that itself has become a major attraction for the growing number of Indian tourists. Goans have been writing letters to the newspapers about the "Hippy Menace" for many years. (i.e. "...our beaches are infested with hippies" "... they have neither religion nor modesty" "boorish night parties"). Western tourists who stay in big motels, dress in the Goan version of Western fashion and who eschew drugs for alcohol are seen as "genuine". Many people are genuinely outraged at the nudity and drug use, others are torn between outrage and prurient interest. Many claims are made. The police conduct regular drug raids on the Western settlements and periodically arrest a few naked sunbathers on one or two of the more visited (by "real" tourists) beaches. By the late 1970's there was an unwritten agreement that nudists would not be hassled if they kept off these more accessible strips of shoreline. They are still seen there on any day of the week but numbers are down. Besides, if the naked Westerners disappear the Indian tourists seeking a free show would have too far to go. The young Westerners are generally unintrusive and mean to be inoffensive but they are insensitive. They "know" what are the correct values, what is correct behaviour. They reject the Goans as not being real Indians or as corrupted by bourgeois, middle class values. The "hippies" tend to idealize the fishermen and lower class Goans as real but as neither group can speak the other's language, there is little communication. When this author spoke in Hindi to a few fishermen on several beaches, they indicated that they thought their Western visitors were nice enough but crazy. Middle class or urban Goans have a very colonial view of how Westerners should dress and behave. The closer one is to the white suits, ties, Panama hats and aloof attitudes of the Portuguese officials, the more bona fide one is in some circles. Such interaction and the reasons for the nearly total misunderstanding on both sides form an interesting subject for another article.

THE VILLAGE

Though there are several medium-sized towns (25,000 to 77,000) most Goans still live in villages. The population of Goa is roughly 60 per cent Hindu, 38 per cent Catholic and 2 per cent Muslim. Due to the events of the long Portuguese occupation, there are two distint areas in this already small region (3,700 sq. km.), the Old Conquests and the

New Conquests. Within the Old Conquests, which were held by the Portuguese well before 1600, there are no major Hindu temples. All were razed. Churches, now centuries old, were built on the same spots. Many Hindu images of goddesses or gods were secreted out of the Portuguese area and installed in new temples, now also centuries old. These temples are found in the New Conquests, taken by the Portuguese during the 1700s, when their religious ardour had cooled. So, while Hindus and Catholics live in both parts of Goa, the main Catholic churches are found in the Old Conquests and the main Hindu temples are found in the New Conquests. Each locality, no matter how poor or insignificant, has its own temple or church. Each also has its own feast day or zatra. I have written elsewhere of these religious festivals.[1] Catholic feast days occur on the day of the saint to whom the church is dedicated. Each Hindu temple has a zatra. Zatra is a Konkani word derived from the Sanskrit yatra or "pilgrimage". Today a zatra is a festival attended by from a few hundred to several hundred thousand people. People come for zatras and feast days from all over Goa, from Bombay, Bangalore and other areas of South India. It is a recognition that the Catholic saint or Hindu deity and the place are still central to one's identity and spiritual life. There are certainly other reasons for coming which will be discussed below. Some feast days are purely for Catholics and Catholic symbols and rituals prevail. Most zatras are solely for Hindus and Hindu myth, ritual, and symbol dominate. There are a few, however, which are meaningful for both Catholic and Hindu. These are no doubt the most interesting and the subject of my previous article.[2] Both types of religious festival have extremely similar forms, though their content may often differ. Such form includes: large opulent buildings which dominate the surrounding village, incense, firecrackers and gunpowder bombs, processions of an image with accompanying brass bands, , general noise and informality except at crucial moments, Hindi film music on loudspeakers, informal dress for spectators and most participants, colour and finery for ecclestastics and images, and a special bazaar. Other common elements are the use of classical or foreign languages, intoned prayers, the desire of participants for the special aid or help of the deity, the reverencing of the central image in a particular way to this end, a universal God surrounded by lesser figures, and (to repeat) the gathering of scattered believers to a traditional centre for the occasion. While I would argue that for the most part these festivals are times which stress cohesion and a common identity, there are also conflicts usually stem from social divisions which are underlined by differing access to religious buildings, places in a procession or roles to be played in preparations.

Religious festivals and pilgrimages have been studied by numerous scholars.[3] There is no need to recapitulate their work here because the aim of this paper lies elsewhere. Next I want to prepare the ground for a comparison of the activities of the "hippies" and the Goans. I will do this by talking about social drama.

SOCIAL DRAMA

Every culture is woven together with a mass of myths, symbols and rituals that both reflect and project certain values, attitudes, images, beliefs and behaviour patterns. These things in turn both stem from and help to shape the economic, political and social structure of each community. In trying to understand any single culture or society the anthropologist faces the daunting task of trying to unravel much of the symbolic world so that he may understand it from the insider's point of view. Philosophically speaking, this is probably impossible. An outsider's view must ultimately remain just that, but there are certainly some ways of investigation that bring us closer than others. One way is to look for events in a culture which seem to be important to the people who participate in them. We may judge this importance by what people say and what they do (i.e. attend). Usually we can expect there to be intense interest, emotion, and numerous symbols and small rituals attached to the main event. There may be a greater or lesser number of myths or semi-mythical heroes or heroines connected. Some events may be related to particular points in an individual's life cycle (i.e. *rites de passage*) or to moments on the religious calendar. All of them communicate to participants, deep, emotional and usually satisfying messages. Participants may or may not be aware of this. It matters little. We are engaged in trying to understand what the events *mean*, what makes them so satisfying. I think such events are centrally significant precisely because, as Geertz points out,

> The culture of a people is an ensemble of texts, themselves ensembles which the anthropologist strains to read over the shoulders of those to whom they properly belong. There are enormous difficulties in such an enterprise ... Nor is it the only way that symbolic forms can be sociologically handled.... But to regard such forms as 'saying something of something' and saying it to somebody is at least to open up the possibility of an analysis which attends to their substance rather than to reductive formulas professing to account for them.[4]

If we look at events of central significance as texts which may be read and interpreted with the caveat that we ultimately may still place the outsider's interpretation on them, then the next step is to ask what do we want to read there? Geertz' article on Balinese cockfights has become a classic because of the articulate way in which he shows how such events may be used. He says that "in the cockfight ... the Balinese forms and discovers his temperament and his society's temper at the same time. Or, more exactly, he forms and discovers a particular facet of them".[5] Geertz acknowledges the existence of other such Balinese cultural texts providing "lessons" about other aspects of life. There is not just one event per society but a number of them which are both interesting and useful to identify and analyze for a better understanding of particular cultures and humankind in general.

The Balinese cockfight is one such example. Others of the genre may be the bullfights of Spain and Mexico, American football games, the little wars of Papua New Guinea or traditional Naga society in India, or Australian Rules football in much of Australia. Events of central significance when stem more from religion are the Papua New Guinea moka exchanges with pigs, prestige, dances, and costume display, the fertility ritual cycle of the Mehinaku Indians of the Xingu region in Brazil, the passionate processions and self-flagellation of Muharram in Iran and India, the passion plays of Europe, Anzac Day in Australia, and the saints' day or feast day celebrations of Spain, Italy, Portugal and, of course, Goa. Rites of passage which can be taken as centrally significant in society include Hindu weddings, Balinese cremations, and initiations into manhood among the Masai and many other groups of Africa and Papua New Guinea. For many Australians, the debutante ball or the 21st birthday party might be important. That these Australian events do not seem quite as strong, widespread, or central as those in some other societies is no coincidence. We will return to Western society's significant events later. I like to refer to these events of central significance as social drama because they have characters with special, non-ordinary roles, they have plots which like staged plays do not vary from time to time except in interpretation; they remove spectators from their daily routine and concerns and make them think about larger or deeper issues; they appeal to the emotions; they have special venues; and to be successful, the actors must assume the essence of their role and be someone else, not just pretend to be. As nearly all are intimately related to social life, the word "social" accurately describes the dramas we are discussing. Finally, "events of central significance" is a damned awkward phrase.

Besides what we have just mentioned, social dramas have other common features. That is what I want to talk about next. There are five areas which I think are worth discussing. First, all social dramas take the participant out of normal time and normal social structure. Nearly all members of any culture have a routine. You usually stick to it for long periods. Working, eating, sleeping, visiting, being entertained or playing, and worshipping are some of the basic human activities. Social dramas are events that occur outside such routine. Normal use of time is in abeyance ... you do not do the same things, you do not eat on time, you sleep late or not at all, normal measures of time may be replaced by others, you forget about ongoing processes in the rest of your life. Nearly all members of any culture are in a social structure too, to state the obvious. You are bound by firm rules of behaviour. You can do only certain things and interact in certain ways with certain people. But in social dramas the rules often change. Barriers come down, new ones are erected. A person's status and role may be bigger or smaller than usual. You can be somebody else for a little while. You can let your hair down. Sometimes there is role inversion. You become the opposite of what you normally are.

A second aspect of social drama is that there is very often a feeling of what Turner has called communitas.

> Communitas is spontaneous, immediate, concrete ... it is not shaped by norms, it is not institutionalized, it is not abstract.
> ... Communitas tends to characterize relationships between those jointly undergoing ritual transition. The bonds of community are anti-structural in the sense that they are undifferentiated, equalitarian, direct, extant, narrational, existential, I-Thou ... relationships.
> Communitas differs from the camaraderie found often in everyday life, which, though informal and egalitarian, still falls within the general domain of structure ...[6]

Communitas occurs outside of normal social structure. It is a feeling of a common bond that often is experienced by all those taking part in a particular social drama. As we have already noted that social drama occurs outside normal social structure, this follows. Communitas differs significantly from "community" because the participants in a social drama, the ones who feel communitas, may be from widely scattered or even enemy communities.

A third aspect of social drama is what Turner has called liminality. To him, "liminality represents the midpoint of transition in a status-sequence between two positions".[7] Limen is the Latin work for 'threshold'. Taking this idea from van Gennep, Turner uses it to stand for a process by which a participant in social drama is separated from normal time and normal social structure, undergoes a new experience in which he may perceive new truths, get a new status, assume a new role, come to a greater understanding (this is the true liminal state) and then returns to his community and is reabsorbed. He is no longer the same, however, whether or not the community perceives him as such. All social dramas involve such a process or state, some more than others.

A fourth thing to note about social drama is that they all have three levels ... There is serious, meaningful activity around which everything else revolves. There is economic activity - buying and selling, perhaps gambling, or in Western societies, the big business aspects of the most popular sports and media access to them. And there is the level of fun, enjoyment, sociability, adventure and excitment. I think all three of these things can be found in social dramas and indeed, along with communitas and liminality, are indicators of whether a particular event is central or should be considered a social drama at all.

Fifth and last, social drama has a strong educative function. Any social drama teaches the participants, including those who only watch, some important values, ideas, identifications and sentiments. People learn to have sympathies in a certain direction. Because most social dramas occur quite regularly, their message may not hold anything new for a participant. Rather the drama serves to reinforce already held knowledge. Those social dramas which are once in a lifetime events are much more laden with symbolic significance and emotional meaning. Rites of passage have greatest meaning for the individual directly concerned, though everyone present may be influenced at some level. In all social drama there are well-known symbols displayed prominently. The cross, the image of the saint or goddess, the Shiva Linga, the white robes of the Haj, the team colours, the special clothing, the paint on bodies or faces, the towers borne on platforms at Balinese cremations ... Symbols such as these and the myths that people feel are very true and meaningful or whose messages are emotional and worthwhile (stories of gods, saints, prophets, heroes, and golden days of the past) are educational in the extreme. They serve to inform people about the nature of things. They tell people how things are or at very least, how they ought to be. We are talking about "the meaning of life". Social dramas provide, especially to wholehearted participants, some answers to those deep questions Man has always asked everywhere and everywhen. Why are we here? What is our purpose? What is the right way to live? How should we behave towards Others? How can we deal with all the problems we face? What is the true nature of Man? Answers often given include tolerance, faith, good works, loyalty, generosity, courage, virility, friendship, and hostility. At a most basic level, social drama teaches members of a society about these things and relates them to the more ordered, structured world beyond the realm of mere drama.

Pilgrimages are particularly important social dramas in that they may occur only once in a lifetime. They have been seen for millenia as outstanding experiences in a person's life and laden with symbolic meanings. Pilgrimages conform well to all the criteria I have laid out as characterizing social drama. They also are directly related to the pot and parties on the beach and the processions and piety in the village. Let us say some more about pilgrimage.

PILGRIMAGE

Pilgrimage has always been extremely widespread. One thinks of centres such as Benares, Mecca, Jerusalem, Rome, Santiago de Compostela, Lourdes, and Villa de Guadelupe in Mexico. Japan, China and India, like Europe, Mexico, Iran, and Andean South America are criss-crossed by a network of pilgrimage centres which vary in degree of importance. Both Western and Indian tradition are steeped in tales of pilgrims. For example, in English one has only to think of The Canterbury Tales or Pilgrim's Progress. The early crusades of Europe were commonly regarded as pilgrimages.[8] Indian pilgrimages vary from those to small centre a a few miles off to those enormous masses of people that converge on such centres as Allahabad, Hardwar, Ayodhya, Amarnath and Benares at periodic intervals. Throughout history pilgrimage has been a major factor in giving unity and a sense of Indian-ness to an otherwise tremendously diverse civilization. There were and still are different levels of intensity for pilgrims. Some pilgrimages are more important, more serious; others, less so. Going on a once-in-a-lifetime pilgrimage that might take many months and a life's savings is different from walking a few miles down the road to the tomb of a local saint or legendary hero. Given that some such experiences are more powerful and long-lasting than others, we still may note that all pilgrimages have a similar form. Whether performed yearly or only once, there are a number of special characteristics all have in common.

First, a pilgrim makes preparations on the basis of what has been heard (or possibly read) about the experience. There is a fund of available information about the trip and the activities at the pilgrimage centre. There is positive sentiment about the value of being a pilgrim and going through all the difficulties in order to attain that ephemeral but memorable "knowledge" which is not to be had by staying at home. There are numerous tales about remarkable people, places and experiences that are told at the local level by people who have returned or whose friends and relatives have returned. No pilgrim jumps off into the unknown. He travels a beaten, yet still exotic path.

Next, our pilgrim sets out. He leaves the normal routine of home, work, and prayer behind. Each day may bring something different. He does things that he has never done before or, at least, does only once a year. Pilgrims also leave normal social structure behind. They mingle with people they otherwise would never encounter (for example, the various tale-tellers of Chaucer's classic). They mix with social superiors and inferiors with only minor distinctions being made. As Foard points out, from the monotony of daily life and the bonds of convention, the "pilgrim ... enters a world of blessed anonymity, free from all the structures that order yet constrain his life".[9] All undergo the hardships, the new experiences, and the expansion of knowledge due to travel.

They reach the pilgrimage centre, the goal. There they perceive some rare or infrequent religious understanding, they get blessings, a feeling of good fortune, of having fulfilled vows or religious duties. There is an overwhelming sense of unity with others, that communitas we talked of earlier. Pilgrims have the feeling of having been to the "Centre". But of course this is not all. They buy some things to take home, for use or for status or both. They may have brought something to sell as well. Many drink, eat, dance, gamble, and go sightseeing. Most pilgrimage centres are well equipped with markets and places of entertainment.

Lastly, the pilgrim returns home, back to routine and normal social structure. But, and here is the crux, he is no longer the same. He has a different status. He sometimes has managed to change his place in social structure. At very least, he himself feels that he is changed if nobody else does. This feeling may vary from the title and special colour turban of the returnee from Mecca to the reinforced group identity feeling of the Peruvian peasant or Goan fisherman. The amount of change in status or self-image is certainly a corollary of the frequency and rank of importance of the particular pilgrimage on some imaginary pilgrimage scale. Anyway, we can say that pilgrimage is endowed with liminality.

PILGRIMAGE, ZATRAS AND FEAST DAYS

The Goans who participate in the religious festivals called zatras and feast days are engaged in activity which is nearly identical to that of conventional pilgrimages. Even the word zatra as we have pointed out, comes from the Sanskrit word for "pilgrimage". Such festivals are smaller, more localized versions of pilgrimage. A number of people do come from far away, both Catholics and Hindus. They feel that the blessings of the deity or saint and the help or power that they obtain by attending the festival are well worth the trouble of the voyage and the discomfort of temporary lodgings. The knowledge of how to go to the festival site and the benefits of going, as well as what one does while at the festival, is spread throughout Goan society, in Goa and beyond. Normal routine and social structure are abandoned. The crucial, central events are often at night or early in the morning. People mix and mingle in huge crowds, join processions, and often, Catholics and Hindus pray in each other's place of worship. People are sprinkled with holy water or red powder; no one is left out. These things are a symbol of communitas. All believers may wear a certain colour, another sign of their unity. People take the experience seriously on one level, but they buy and sell, gamble, eat and drink, and the Catholics dance. For everyone it is a chance to do something different for a few days, and for many, a chance to be someone different. People of low income may hold important ceremonial positions, others may go into trance, whirling and dancing in front of a deity's palanquin. They are separated only to return to normal daily life, their reputation slightly enhanced or at least, with enhanced self-esteem. Over the years such an annual role change may or may not lead to a higher status. Given all the accompanying circumstances, these festivals, especially those of a cross-religious nature, create a greater awareness of the wider unity of Goan culture. The Goan religious festival is most strongly a social drama. Besides the special resemblance to pilgrimages, the communitas, liminality and leaving of normal social structure and routine, there is that strong educational element. As texts, Goan religious festivals teach Goans that there is both a special Hindu or Catholic identity and a common Goan one which cuts across religious boundaries. There is emphasis on values of faith, piety and submission to God (and so to authority). Goans learn that for all men suffering and penance is a way of getting closer to God and so to power and good fortune. The form of the festivals, usually chaotic, crowded with colour, noise, and variety may mirror the diversity of Goan society, while the underlying order and discipline reflect the solid social structure.

Conflict and quarrels in festivals may reflect tensions in daily social life, but religious festivals, as texts about Goan society, above all are a description of tolerance and unity in diversity. They are about Goan-ness.

As pure drama, Goan religious festivals have characters with special roles - organizers, decorators, chariot pullers, bearers of regalia, musicians, people in trance, dancers, exploders of firecrackers and gunpowder bombs, and mainly, pilgrims, devotees, beseechers. The plot never varies but the interpretation can. New technology can be added, new songs or music. There can even be switches from Latin and Portuguese to Konkani. Old and unpopular sections are allowed to lapse. Religious festivals have some moments of high intensity and great emotion. These, as in any good drama, reveal some deeper meanings to the beholders. There are the special venues of course, the temples, churches and shrines that are everywhere in Goa. And finally, for the brief time of the festival, the main actors assume the essence of their roles. They are not acting in their own eyes; they are changed, different, transformed.

I think we may conclude that zatras and feast days in Goa are important social dramas that exhibit all the features of pilgrimage. They can be seen as a vital part of the process by which knowledge about the world, about Reality, is passed on and reinforced. Even more, they help construct Goan reality as it is seen by Goans.

PILGRIMAGE AND INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY

Now let us return to social drama in Western, industrial society as promised. While sporting events seem to be powerful, dramatic events with social implications and so worthy of inclusion in our category of "social drama", many other sorts of social drama, common to more traditional societies, seem missing in our own. There is certainly no lack of evidence that they existed in the past, but now there are large numbers of people for whom such things have little meaning. Sports too are far from universally meaningful. Religion is discredited for a large proportion of the population, thereby stripping meaning from religious festivals or pilgrimages. Communities have broken up, the family is not strong, individualism is high, independence and competition are valued over cooperative activity, and the abundance of ways of entertainment - film, television, books, music, clubs and associations of all sorts, sports, pubs and restaurants, museums, zoos, markets, parks, beaches - to name a few, present a far wider choice than ever before. Work in industrial societies is often repetitive and boring with few ties to other people. Very often there is no feeling of creativity or achievement, rather, a feeling of being a mere cog in a giant, impersonal machine. Higher formal education, possibly a way of ameliorating these conditions, is turned into a rat race for degrees and jobs and is anyway denied to vast numbers. What sort of social drama can appeal to millions of people in industrial societies who search for meaning outside traditional paths? The answer I wish to put forward here is tourism. This is not an original claim, though perhaps this particular framework is original. Others have noted the extreme likeness of tourism and pilgrimage.[10] Therefore I have no hesitation about offering it. Let us think not only of Australians making their once in a lifetime trip to England, Americans and Japanese making the grand tour of Europe and the English gentlemen of yesteryear who rounded off their education by touring France, Switzerland and Italy. We must especially recall the disaffected youth of industrial societies who roam around Asia on a well-designated "pilgrimage network". Such youth often exhibit intense dislike of the word "tourist" and have the greatest contempt for more conventional travellers, yet "tourist" may describe them equally. It is only a difference in style. The Western tourist fits into the pilgrimage format. At home, the Westerner is bombarded with information about wonderful, exotic lands full of palms, beautiful women, bazaars, gongs and rubies. The East has exerted a magical pull on the Western mind since Marco Polo. The travel industry advertises everywhere. Western fasion magazines glamourize nudity and freedom, travel magazines heighten romance and adventure. Social and political problems are given little or no notice. There are also many thousands of returnees who assume the status of more experienced, maturer, worldly-wise and in short, travelled, individuals. Their stories are passed on by word of mouth; their exotic clothes, jewellery and art objects attract; the legends of cheap dope, friendly people who are close to the land, natural, wise - so unlike the alienated members of the listener's world - and the amazing experiences to be had; appeal to young or old people dissatisfied with industrialized life. If Mecca is "the centre" for Muslims, and Rome for Catholics, then the East, particularly India, Nepal and Bali, is such a centre for the searching youth of the West. Many dream of saving the money and "getting away". Others feel that they have not matured unless they make a trip (pilgrimage) of this kind. It is not a coincidence that Kerouac and Hesse were popular in the Sixties. When even the Beatles sought the Wisdom of the East, the floodgates opened and they have not shut yet. All these phenomena encourage travel and also establish the "pilgrimage" centres. There are many guidebooks which cater to this population, mentioning cheap travel methods, cheap places to stay and eat, how to avoid bureaucratic harassment, and how to avoid "the crowd", meaning conventional tourists. The recommended spots become the hippie meccas. The hippie "wanderers", like pilgrims, do not jump into the unknown. They travel a known, well-marked route. They are more properly considered explorers of internal space than of unknown places.

- Normal routine and social structure are left behind. Outside the normal routine you have a different pace of life. As a tourist of any sort your daily routine is very different than at home. Outside normal social structure, you mingle with your fellow travellers, you dress in clothes which symbolize your distance from home, your change from your usual drab life. You are free. Young Western travellers spend most of their time with each other, congregated at the "hippie" centres. Large numbers of them wear the most outrageous (to Indians) collections of harem pants, gypsy or holy man's clothing, sarongs, and tribal jewellry. It is not unusual to see men wearing Indian women's jewellry. See-through blouses and outright nudity too are symbolic of the break with humdrum industrial society. Overall, the tourist undergoes hardships (even if self-imposed), and expands his knowledge through many new experiences. European and American "hippies" until recently often came overland via Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan. They faced very real dangers and hardships especially if they hitchhiked, the prestigious way of travelling. Normal social structure is broken down in another way too. "Hippies" travel with the minimum amount of baggage. Few have more than one or two items of Western high technology (camera, tape deck, etc.) to sell at the pilgrimage centre or to record their experiences to authenticate them back at home. Managing on the least amount of money is nearly an eleventh commandment; poverty is a virtue. Though some young Westerners may be from middle or upper middle class families and all are better off than the average local person, there is a tendency among many to frequent incredibly dirty or [illegible] hotels or cafes. To live differently because you have more money is not acceptable. Turner[11] notes that counterculture people in America wear (wore) clothes of the poor and underprivileged as part of their rejection of standard social structure. It is not only rejection, but the creation of another liminal world, in which the wildly different dress symbolizes communitas, the spirit of the pilgrimage, of social drama.

At the centre, in our case Goa, the young travellers experience communitas. There is a large number of similar "pilgrims" from all the industrialized nations of the West. Experiences on the road and at other centres are shared. The feeling, especially at sunset, is almost religious at times. There is a very strict code of behaviour to be observed at the centre. Certain attitudes are expected, certain behaviour sacrosanct. Some young Westerners have sought out gurus and holy men, others feel that India is a holier or better place than the West. They idealize the peasants and fishermen with whom they can rarely communicate. Other just appreciate the freedom which leaving one's own society provides. Besides the meaningful side to this voyage there is the usual buying and selling of [illegible] the rock music, sun, drugs, and sex. On returning home, most of the youths will rejoin mainstream industrial society. They will again conform to their normal routines and social structure. They have passed through that liminal state so closely linked to social drama and pilgrimage in particular. They have left society, undergone new experiences and learned new truths, and re-entered society in a changed state. They have seen the exotic East and brought back proof. The once-smooth fabric of their lives is now warped. Now they too are tellers of tales. Some change dramatically, for instance, by becoming disciples of Rajneesh Bhagwan. Others, like Goa pilgrims, experience less drastic, internal changes. But all have learned. "Reality", that phantom state, is now based on wider foundations of knowledge.

Like classical heroes and heroines of quest myths and tales, tourists have gone away to find home. They become someone else in order to become more fully themselves.

CONCLUSION AND SUMMARY

Tourism, like Goan religious festivals, is a text in which much can be read. The chart below attempts to sum up the similarities between these two forms of cultural experience.

GOAN FESTIVALS		WESTERN TOURISM	
1.	Myths and legends about power of deities, songs, memories of home and a "nostalgic landscape".	1.	Travellers' tales, media advertisements, guidebooks.
2.	Leave normal routine, leave social structure.	2.	Leave normal routine, leave social structure.
3.	Can play new roles, do different things	3.	Can play new roles, do different things.
4.	Only a few travel far, others only some miles.	3.	All travel far.
5.	Existence of a centre	5.	Existence of a centre.
6.	Knowledge, meanings, shared experience, rituals and symbols specific to festival.	6.	Knowledge, meanings, shared experience rituals and symbols specific to trip.
7.	Communitas	7.	Communitas
8.	Liminality - initiation into wider understandings.	8.	Liminality - initiation into wider understandings.
9.	Re-integration with new, subtle status change.	9.	Re-integration with often subtle status change.
10.	Dances, music, gambling, drinking.	10.	Dances, music, sex and drugs.
11.	Can be read as a text telling Goans about Goan society.	11.	Can be read as a text telling Westerners about Western society.
12.	Lessons = understanding of power, faith, local identity and wider Goan identity, learn about own society, self-exploration.	12.	Lessons = what you seek overseas is often inside yourself i.e. self-exploration, identity as member of one's own society, learn about own experience by seeing others' experience.

Every society emphasizes certain values, meanings, images, sympathies and sentiments and provides its members with particular knowledge about a vision of the world. That knowledge arises from social experience but it is encapsulated and given extra power and importance by various cultural media. These media transmit that knowledge, often in highly dramatic fashion. Hence our term, "social drama".

Goan saints and feast days are religious rather than secular but like tourism, they are social dramas. They are particular to Goan society but in ultimate content and symbolic importance they resemble tourism very closely. Tourism, particularly of the individual kind preferred by many young Westerners, has very close links with traditional pilgrimages as do the Goan festivals. As pilgrimage was and still is an important social drama in many cultures, I think we can draw the conclusion that the young Western tourists are behaving in a very common and very ancient human pattern. We may call them "hippies", "freaks", "travellers", or "tourists", but they might just as well be called secular pilgrims.

We may conclude by noting that as human beings - social animals - both Goans and "hippies" behave in very similar ways for very similar reasons. Both are acting in ways that are meaningful in terms of the context of their cultures. There is really a strong cultural link between beach and village, tourism and religious festivals. The irony is that neither group can recognize it in the other.

FOOTNOTES

1. [illegible] *[illegible] and Feast Days: Sym[illegible] Social Dramas in [illegible]*, unpublished paper.

2. *Ibid.*

3. For examples, see bibliography: [illegible] (1980), [illegible] (1980), [illegible] (1983), [illegible] (1971), [illegible] (1979), [illegible] (1976), [illegible] (1980), [illegible] (1976), [illegible] (1983), Sumption (1975), and Turner (1974).
See also
Brandes, S. "Cargos versus cost sharing in Mesoamerican Fiestas with special reference to Tzintzuntzan", *Journal of Anthropological Research*, vol.37, no.3, Fall, 1981, pp.209-225.
Gross, D.R. "Ritual and conformity: a religious pilgrimage to Northeastern Brazil", *Ethnology*, vol.10, 1971, pp.129-48.
Gudeman, S. "Saints, symbols and ceremonies", *American Ethnologist*, vol.3, 1976, pp.709-729.
Schieffelin, E.L. *The Sorrow of the Lonely and the Burning of the Dancers*, University of Queensland, 1977.
Smith, W.R. *The Fiesta System and Economic Change*, Columbia, 1977.
Walter, L. "Social strategies and the fiesta complex in an Otavaleno community", *American Ethnologist*, vol.8, 1981, pp.172-185.

4. Geertz, C. *The Interpretation of Cultures*, "Deep Play: notes on the Balinese cockfight", pp.412-453, Basic Books, N.Y., 1973, pp.452-53.

5. *Ibid.*, p.451.

6. Turner, V. *Dramas, Fields and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society*, Cornell, 1974, p.274.

7. *Ibid.*, p.237.

8. Sumption, J. *Pilgrimage: An Image of Mediaeval Religion*, Faber and Faber, London, 1975, pp.137-138.

9. Foard, J.H. "The boundaries of compassion: Buddhism and national tradition in Japanese pilgrimage", p.238.

10. For examples: [illegible] (1982), [illegible] (1977), [illegible] (1980), and [illegible] (1980).

11. Turner, V. "Passages, Margins and Poverty: Religious Symbols of Communitas", in *Dramas, Fields and Metaphors*, Cornell, 1974, p.[illegible].

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Beals, A.R. "Conflict and interlocal festivals in a South Indian Region". In Harper, E. ed., *Religion in South Asia*, University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1964, pp.99-113.

Buechler, H.C. *The Masked Media; Aymaria Fiestas and Social Interaction in the Bolivian Highlands*, Mouton, 1980.

Foard, J.H. "The boundaries of compassion: Buddhism and national tradition in Japanese pilgrimage", *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol.41, no.2, 1982, pp.231-251.

Galt, A.H. "Carnival on the Island of Pantelleria", *Ethnology*, vol.12, no.3, 1973, pp.305-340.

Geertz, C. *The Interpretation of Cultures*, Basic Books, N.Y., 1973.

Graburn, N. "Tourism: the sacred journey". In Smith, V.L. ed., *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*, University of Penn., 1977, pp.17-31.

Hogbin, I. "Food, festivals and politics in Wogeo", *Oceania*, vol.40, no.4, 1970, pp.304-328.

MacCannell, D. *The Tourist*, Schocken Books, N.Y., 1976.

Mandelbaum, D. *Society in India Vol.II*, University of California, 1972.

Moore, A. "Walt Disney World: bounded ritual space and the playful pilgrimage center", *Anthropological Quarterly*, vol.53, no.4, October 1980, pp.207-217.

Newman, R.S. "Zatras and Feast Days: Syncretic Social Dramas in Modern Goa", unpublished paper.

Nutini, H.G. "Syncretism and Acculturation: the historical development of the cult of the Patron Saint in Tlaxcala, Mexico", *Ethnology*, vol.15, no.3, 1976, pp.301-321.

Östör, A. *The Play of the Gods: Locality, Ideology, Structure and Time in the Festivals of a Bengali Town*, University of Chicago, 1980.

Rheubottom, D.B. "The Saint's feast and Skopsa Crna Goran social structure", *Man*, vol.11, no.1, 1976, pp.18.34.

Sallnow, M.J. "Communitas Reconsidered: the sociology of Andean pilgrimage", *Man*, vol.16, 1981, pp.163-182.

Sumption, J. *Pilgrimage: An Image of Mediaeval Religion*, Faber and Faber, London, 1975.

Turner, V. *Dramas, Fields and Metaphors*, Cornell, 1974.

CHINA-VIETNAM: NOTES ON POPULATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCHOOL PROGRAMS FOR POPULATION EDUCATION

STEWART E. FRASER

INTRODUCTION

In a general overview of the population situation of China and Vietnam, two countries with a variety of social and cultural similarities, as well as a number of political and economic dissimilarities, there is mutual benefit in both analysing and contrasting their population policies as well as comparing the recent development of school programs in population education. However, for reasons of space considerations these notes focus primarily on the recent introduction in China and in Vietnam of population education programs. These are programs which are still in the process of development and are an indirect response to somewhat dissimilar demographic realities in both China and Vietnam.

Population policy formation in both countries and innovative curriculum development is dependent in part on the importance placed on evaluating and disseminating demographic information in its fullest context.[1] However, the general availability of basic population facts, open and public discussion of and a vigorous, wellnigh coercive campaign to reduce birth rates, is certainly far more prevalent in one country (China) than the other (Vietnam).

The fullest awareness of the population problem in China has been translated into curriculum considerations as a result of pedagogical research and school experimentation in various parts of China during 1981 and 1982. Vietnam in contrast has done much less to publicise effectively its current population situation, and excessively high growth rates. The response in curricula terms on the part of the Ministry of Education in Hanoi has been much more cautious in spite of a population growth rate that is not quite double the rate currently recorded in China. Before looking at the current state of population education programs in these two countries it is useful to consider some of the main factors which make up their demographic realities.

DEMOGRAPHIC REALITIES

While both countries share a common 1000 kilometer long contiguous border, perhaps more importantly they also evidence a number of continuing and interrelated cultural traditions. A multitude of historical ebbs and flows are reflected in various political and economic relationships concerning political suzerainity, commercial and trading patterns as well as intellectual and cultural exchanges. These are certainly well recorded during the past millennium and have included the movement of both armies for the pursuit of military and political gain as well as the migration of people as traders or settlers seeking to improve their living standards. But it is rather the current concern of both economic planners as well as statistical demographers, as to the future shape, size, distribution and growth patterns of population in their respective countries, which occupies the attention of governments in both Vietnam and China today as they approach the end of the present millennium. China appears to have every likelihood of having to support a population of at least 1200 million, and Vietnam some 75 million by the year 2000. These projections are based on the current population figures of 1030 million for China (excluding Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan) derived from the 1982 census[2] and 58 million for Vietnam, estimated for 1983 and based on the 1979 census[3] with appropriate incremental additions.

The population growth rate for China is currently estimated to be 1.4% per annum and Vietnam 2.2% per annum, with both countries recording undoubted internal regional differences. The obvious gross size disparity between the populations of China and Vietnam are possibly of somewhat lesser importance than a consideration of the considerable internal differences in population growth within both countries. In Vietnam this is reflected in the annual growth rates and greatly differing family size as between northern and southern Vietnam. The annual natural population growth rate in the northern provinces approaches 1.7% and in the southern provinces it is approximately 3.5%.

In addition there are certainly regional population growth differences of significance within China, not to mention rural-urban differences. The variations are currently of the approximate natural growth order of 1.0% annually in Sichuan, China's most populous province and one labelled a 'model birth control province' and a 2.5% annual natural growth in Guangdong with its high levels of fertility and poorest birth control record of all China's 29 provinces.

Population policy in China is currently, certainly since 1979, focusing predominantly on a major theme namely the promotion of the 'one child family' program, however this is not necessarily to the exclusion of other measures to encourage a lowering of the birth rates namely late marriage and delayed childbirth. In strong contrast Vietnam still eschews two as an ideal family size with more than three to be merely 'discouraged'. These still somewhat generalised goals of family size ideals are given priority with a firm, but not obsessive encouragement of both late marriage and delayed childbirth. The continual improvement in health, especially of mothers and children, in both Chinese and Vietnamese societies, remains as an over-riding policy priority as does the target of involving the elusive male in a more responsible family planning role and becoming a fuller partner in the development of the so-called 'ideal family unit'. However, in China, certainly since 1982, the single child must 'other things being equal', now receive priority medical health and educational treatment over multiple child families.

Both countries have significant ethnic minorities (China nearly 6.7% and Vietnam about 4%) and both governments vary their official national policy respectively of strict family size limitation when compared to targets laid down for Han (Chinese)[4] majorities and Vinh (Vietnamese) majorities. Both countries are cognisant of the social and political sensibilities of large numbers of minority ethnic peoples mostly populating the border areas of their respective countries. China and Vietnam are the homes for large ethnic minorities which share a common border with each other including large minorities such as the Miao and Yao.

China has enjoyed virtually some thirty years of relative peace on both the international and domestic front. In contrast Vietnam has had for the same period a well recorded history of internal turmoil, civil war and international conflicts with a series of countries including France, the United States and her allies, and then more recently China and Kampuchea. Vietnam, still in some ways a divided country, has been left a legacy of conflicting attitudes, varying policies and uneven programs concerning population control and family planning as it has in the sphere of land ownership, business and trade, not to mention ideologically differing attitudes towards education, schooling and technological development. Some of these problems have only been partially solved since the political unification of the country in 1975.

In contrast China has enjoyed relative international tranquility, except for its border clashes with the Soviet Union in 1966 and its shortlived military excursion into Vietnam in 1979. Apart from the unease caused by nearly a decade long cultural revolution from 1966-75, China has suffered modest internal or domestic upsets during the past thirty years. These disturbances theoretically could have seriously interfered with implementing a carefully considered and long term population policy. However, China has instead vascillated until more recently in developing and sustaining long term national population policies and integrating sound family planning programs with all other sectors of government activity. Since the mid 1950s no less than four major attempts in starting up national birth control programs have been undertaken. The last commencing in 1979-80, being the most critical and controversial as it focuses on implementing nationwide a one child family policy. [5]

Vietnam, on the other hand, has been a politically divided country, certainly for over 20 years from 1954-1975. In the northern provinces a modestly articulated plan for population limitation was first considered in 1960 and then only partially implemented during the mid-1960s.[6] The former South Vietnamese government in the last two years prior to the fall of Saigon in May 1975, was giving some thought to considering rapid population growth as a serious economic problem rather than merely as a social and cultural phenomenon.[7] Both governments, in the north and south were constrained, for somewhat different reasons, in developing thorough going population limitation policies because of over-riding manpower and military considerations imposed by the continuous civil conflict complicated by extensive foreign involvements. In simplistic terms China has had ample opportunities during the past two decades to develop adequate and cohesive population policies, luxuries which have been somewhat denied the Vietnamese with their recent history of internal and external conflict. Perhaps the differing degrees of social stability prevailing in the two countries is startlingly contrasted when reference is made to the male and female imbalance within the two populations. In China the 1982 census revealed an overall imbalance of the sexes in the ratio of males 106 to females 100 or 51.5% males and 48.5% females (with more pronounced imbalances at the infant and early childhood age groups). On the other hand the Vietnamese figures based on the 1979 census would suggest a ratio of males 94.2 to females 100 or 47.1% males and 52.9% females (with greater imbalances at the 20-40 year age groups). The higher percentage in 1982 of males overall in China was revealed in almost the same proportions as those recorded at the 1955 and 1964 census. Chinese demographers would argue that this imbalance is a phenomenon characteristic of Chinese and many Asian populations and well recorded over many years. In China's case the introduction of the new government policy of promoting a one child family, certainly since 1979, may well have important demographic implications for the future especially if female infanticide continues to grow.[8] Since 1981 it has apparently been an increasingly better documented occurrence and has provided considerable public discussion. In contrast the Vietnamese male-female imbalance is considered as a direct reflection of the war and the special kind of military activity which involved, particularly during the decade 1966-1975, the movement of young males from north to southern and central highland areas of conflict. The border conflict with China in 1979-80, and the continuing military involvement in Laos and Kampuchea will add to male deaths and continue to influence the demographic imbalance particularly as it affects young males in the age bracket 20-35.

POPULATION EDUCATION-DEMOGRAPHIC STUDIES

Any consideration of demographic studies and population education, as suitable subjects for inclusion in tertiary and secondary school programs, would suggest that both China and Vietnam in 1979 were almost on an equal footing. There was little evidence of major interest in considering the topic from either a political or pedagogical viewpoint. However, three years later the Chinese have made progress in experimenting with and implementing new programs. The Vietnamese in contrast are still at the planning stage and population education has not as yet received a priority rating in curriculum innovation.

The United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA) since 1980 has been interested in helping both countries consider the need to introduce formal education programs in schools, colleges and universities.[9] It is now accepted government policy in the respective Ministries of Education in China and Vietnam to progressively initiate integrated programs of studies, and develop curriculum guides as well as to train teachers, for various educational levels, in population education and family planning instruction. This point is well exemplified by the participation of population educators from both China and Vietnam in the latest of the various regional UNESCO sponsored Population Education Conferences which was held in Bangkok from 11-18 October, 1982.[10] Both countries are the recipients of extensive grants in aid to foster demographic studies, census and statistical activities, as well as developing contraceptive strategies and medical research for family planning programs. The Vietnamese census of 1979 and the Chinese census of 1982 were both largely underwritten by a series of UNFPA development contracts with support ranging from an extensive input of computer technology to the provision of census design and evaluation techniques supported by international consulting professional staff. The UNFPA agreements to assist in census activities in both countries were predicated on the introduction of demographic activities which included both birth control studies for an 'out of school' population and an 'in school' program for development of population education in secondary schools.

POPULATION EDUCATION STRATEGIES FOR CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

In regard to the initiation and development of population education courses the concept of 'program integration' varies from country to country, especially in the development of curriculum and materials. In general, population education has been integrated with development programs following either one or a combination of the three major approaches described below. The Bangkok Population Education Conference of October 1982 gave for the first time senior education ministry officials from both China and Vietnam an opportunity to consider the benefits and disadvantages of various curricula approaches tried out in some eleven other Asian nations. They were introduced in detail to the various techniques used with varying success in countries such as Thailand, Philippines and Korea namely:

i) Discrete or individual course approach where:
A separate course on population education has been initiated and such a course has been made an integral part of the curriculum of ongoing development programs (e.g. Bangladesh, India and the Philippines).

ii) Admixture-Infusion approach where:
The relationships between population issues and the quality of life of the individual, the family and the community is stressed (e.g. Afghanistan, India, Nepal, Pakistan, the Philippines and Thailand).

iii) Problem or Thematic Discussion Core approach
This approach differs from the discrete course and admixture strategies and neither advocates the infusion of population education concepts into other disciplines nor does it form a discrete unit within any other discipline. Instead, the advocates of the problem approach identify common areas of interests and pedagogical needs of various categories of specific audiences. They utilise predetermined sets of relevant population education concepts and translate them into a series of learning activities and prepare appropriate teaching/learning materials. All of these materials can then be compiled in the form of teaching modules or curriculum guides referred to as 'thematic core instructional units'.[11]

VIETNAM

> *In short within the formal education system, population education was not systematically developed. It does not have clearly defined objectives, rational sequence and clear strategies. Problems such as planning, training, research and evaluation as well as documentation, etc., were not properly given*

> *importance. The main problem at present is to develop a good population education programme and try to carry it out actively. Anyway, some population related elements have been covered in the existing general education curricula, and this should be considered as initial input for the development of an effective population education programme.*
>
> *Nguyen Duc Minh,*
> *First Deputy Director, National*
> *Institute of Educational Science,*
> *Head, Commission on Population Education*
> *Ministry of Education, Hanoi,*
> *October 1982* 12

In Vietnam at the senior high school level the introduction of a discreet 'new course' to openly compete with a somewhat inflexible list of academic and traditional offerings is not currently favoured. Instead exploration is presently under way to develop a problem or thematic approach incorporating what is termed 'demographic realities' in courses such as geography, science-biology, mathematics and political studies for the last two years of the senior secondary school level.

Because the program in Vietnam is still under development, there is little to report on actual programs implemented in the schools. However, during visits with Ministry of Education officials in Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City in November 1982, and again in May 1983, the author was appraised of the curriculum planning workshops and teacher training programs which were to be conducted during the school year 1983-84. There was obvious concern expressed at the difficulties being encountered by Hanoi in persuading both provincial school authorities and senior teachers in the secondary schools especially in the southern provinces as to the importance and place of population studies in the curriculum. The curriculum is already undergoing reforms but still has difficulties in coping with'political-ideological forces' advocating technical-vocational interests and needs, and 'those teachers'who incline to more academic programs leading to advanced training or alternatively to tertiary education.
Following the first official workshop on population education to be held in Vietnam (14-19 August 1982) a Commission on Population Education at

the Ministry of Education was established in conjunction with the National Institute of Educational Science . The Commission was instituted to follow up specific recommendations of the population workshop namely:

(1) Recommends to the Government that a National Population and Family Planning Commission should be established to take care of all population activities in Vietnam. Members of this commission are representatives of related Ministries and Agencies such as the State Planning Committee, General Statistical Office, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Labour, National Womens Association, Youth Union, etc.

(2) Recommends to the Ministry of Education:

a) to submit to the Council of Ministers and the Central Commission on Educational Reform the decision to introduce population education into school programmes at all levels (from primary up to university levels). This should be considered as an indispensable component of the educational reform;

b) that within the Ministry of Education, the Commission on population education, which has just been set up, be assigned the task of helping the Minister to guide the research, training and curriculum development in population education;

c) that concrete assignment for each department, for the National Institute of Educational Science and for the Teacher Training College I in carrying out the population education programme should be decided soon;

d) that with the assistance of UNFPA and Unesco Regional Office for Education in Asia and the Pacific, the Ministry of Education should continue to develop co-operation with other countries which have introduced population education programmes into all educational systems some ten years ago. In this, special emphasis should be paid to the training abroad of young specialists in demography, in general, and population education, in particular;

e) that the National Institute of Educational Science together with the Commission on Population Education of Ministry should develop a programme of follow-up activities for school year 1982-1983 and the years to come, especially they should prepare carefully for the National Training Workshop on Population Education to be organized in November this year;

f) that the propaganda through mass-media on population education should be intensified. 13

While an administrative framework has now been established to develop programs and some of the recommendations are being gradually implemented progress can best be characterised as 'deliberate'. This is frankly summed up by Dr.Nguyen Duc Minh,Head of the Commission on

Population Education, who noted in his presentation to a regional workshop on population education (Bangkok, October 1982) that:

> The most urgent need for us now is to develop a national population education programme in the formal as well as non-formal sectors. In this aspect we still lack experience, hence our desire to study and share of experiences on population education with other countries in the region, which have launched population education programmes some ten years ago. To be able to meet all of these needs, it is very important for us to have the full support from UNFPA and from the Unesco Regional Office for Education in Asia and the Pacific.[14]

CHINA

> *At present, there are 1,270,000 or more youth studying in China's colleges and universities; 50,000,000 in middle schools and more than 143,000,000 in elementary schools. The total number of them is 200,000,000 or 20 per cent of the total population. Therefore, it is highly significant and absolutely necessary to conduct population education among them so as to enable them to understand what is the correct viewpoing on population, the world population situation, the existing population problems as well as the policies being pursued in China.*

* * * * * * * *

> *Popualation education in secondary schools is just beginning in China. It will take a great deal of work to extend population education to all secondary schools. There is still the problem of how to carry out the population education and the research work on the theories relating to population education, within the school system (primary, secondary and tertiary) and outside the school system. Our responsibility is great and the road is long, but we have very good prospects.*

Sun Dongtan,
Director, Population Education
Studies,
Ministry of Education, Beijing
8 September 1982 [15]

During the mid 1970s the general question of 'population as a topic of concern' was first introduced into Chinese secondary schools, and the Premier Zhou Enlai even suggested that students should be carefully exposed to the topic of social hygiene especially during the years of puberty. Units including 'A knowledge of basic hygiene during puberty' was then offered in lower middle schools through physiology and hygiene units in the science courses and later a set of lectures, on both 'late marriage' and 'family planning knowledge' was incorporated into the senior middle school grades. By 1978 these topics had been further formalised and incorporated into the basic 10-year curriculum for full time primary and secondary schools. The Ministry of Education in 1980 in a further related step, signed with the United Nations Fund for Population activities (UNFPA) a project agreement to develop population education activities for middle school teachers and students.

After various surveys were undertaken by the Ministry, in 1980, to determine the interest by students and staff in human relations, marriage and family formation topics, it was decided to replace the previous somewhat uncoordinated curriculum on hygiene, late marriage and family planning with a new and more comprehensive curriculum based on current concepts relating to population education.

Population education as a new subject was introduced for the first time in China, to selected senior high school students in 1981. The still experimental weekly program (commencing with the academic year 1981-82) of sixteen class periods per term is still in the course of trialling in some 114 senior middle school grade two classes in the capital, Beijing, as well as ten key or model schools in other cities in China such as Taiyuan, Chengdu and Shanghai. [16]

The course, a novel one of particular relevance to the Chinese scene, generally accords with UNESCO's officially stated rationale for introducing population education into school programs especially in developing countries facing population growth problems. In 1970, at a major Asian conference on the subject held at UNESCO's Population Education Centre, Bangkok, educational officials from throughout Asia, defined population education as an 'educational program which provides for the population situation in the family, the community, nation and world with the purpose of developing in the students rational and responsible attitudes and behaviour towards that situation'. [17] This is a definition which a decade later, was utilised as the basis for initial discussions between the UNFPA and the government regarding the possibility of curricula introduction.

The Ministry of Education in Beijing, with the assistance of the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA) sent a team of senior officials and curriculum specialists in 1981 to the Bangkok Population Education Centre. The primary goal of their tour, sponsored by UNESCO was to study the 'new subject with a view to introducing it, after suitable materials had been developed, to Chinese middle schools'.[18] Their visit has indirectly resulted in a new course being introduced, (1982) albeit only on an experimental basis, and still being trialled in the senior classes of Beijing's high schools prior to eventual introduction throughout China. The new course, 'Population Education', includes units on, fundamentals of Marxist population theory, population growth and ecological balance, the history of population growth both in China and the world, the relationship of population growth and the four modernisations, basic principles of birth control, population forecasting and population planning.

The Beijing Institute of Education (BIOE), the in-service training centre responsible for upgrading the capital's secondary teachers, has established a new Population Education Research and Curriculum Unit with Professor Hu Wei Weh, a well known teacher of economics, to lead a team, including geographers, biologists, and political scientists, to design an appropriate curriculum, teaching materials and students' texts.[19] The Institute's first publication (1981) simply entitled Population Education, a 57 page illustrated text, has recently been distributed and is now available on a restricted trial basis with some 30,000 copies for experimental use only. The availability of such a novel but topical course in high school as well as the production of sexually explicit material, previously considered sensitive and certainly controversial, introduces and integrates ideas from a number of social science fields. It is unlikely that such a frank textbook could have been published during the past decade, certainly not during the Cultural Revolution.

The United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA) has contributed significantly during the past three years to the development of population studies and demographic research within China. It has assisted with research, computer studies and personnel training in regard to the conduct of the 1982 census. In addition, it has trained demographers and assisted in the establishment of new Population Institutes at ten key universities located in various parts of China.[20] A continuing series of travel and training grants, awarded to the Ministry of Education, by UNFPA will help ultimately in introducing population education into the high school curriculum. They are logical steps in a plan to assist Chinese teachers in informing their students scientifically concerning a variety of theoretical topics and practical problems which are now facing China. During the period 1980-1982 nearly US$500,000 has been allocated specifically to provide for a variety of population education activities as well as overseas studies. For example, the UNFPA program for high schools 1982-83 earmarked funds for the training of some 8000 teachers in a series of month long workshops, ten-day orientation courses for administrators, the development of modern audiovisual facilities and reference materials for ten teacher training institutes, the production of instructional materials for ten key or pilot middle school programs, and the development of a revised middle school curriculum including such fields as biology, geography, hygiene, physiology and political study.

The new text book Population Education explores frankly the many familial problems which will undoubtedly confront China's children in the immediate generations to come. The new course of population studies, is unreservedly proscriptive and does not pretend to be 'value free' far less 'value fair' in both the theories it discusses and the solutions it proposes. It clearly goes beyond the goals of merely promoting 'population literacy' that is a 'general understanding of basic demography, the effects of population change, the interaction of population issues and governmental policy, and the effects of individual behaviour on population trends'. Population Education certainly accomplishes all these goals but goes much further in its proscriptions regarding the demographic future of China. Throughout the text it rigorously promotes as the social and national ideal the concept of the One Child Family.

Most of Asia's schools had already during the 1970s introduced population education into the educational curriculum of at least the secondary if not the primary schools, the most notable exceptions for a variety of differing reasons being North Korea, Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. Already Singapore, Indonesia, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, South Korea, Malaysia, Philippines, Sri Lanka and Thailand have school programs in population education of some long standing importance. In Hong Kong educational authorities have already introduced various aspects of population studies into the school curriculum, and through the cooperative efforts of university, education department and social welfare groups some eight years ago, had available from the Hong Kong Family Planning Association what still amounts to be one of the best written and most readable of illustrated texts for secondary schools entitled Population Education: A Teachers Handbook. Chinese curriculum specialists in Beijing were not unaware of the Hong Kong produced book available in both English and Chinese editions and a model which could be fruitfully followed by most Education Ministries in Asia contemplating the production of a similar clearly written and effective text for high school application.

China has been perhaps understandably slow in the past to consider the topic of population education as suitable for inclusion in the school curriculum. However, if the recently distributed Beijing text book Population Education is at all indicative, as to what might be approved in future by the Ministry of Education in Beijing, China is clearly making up for lost time.

The triad of interrelated topics, which are to be found already in many population education courses taught in both Europe and Asia, often involve aspects of (1) population studies (including demography), (2) family life education (including birth planning information) and (3) human relations education (including sex education). The three when presented as interrelated units are sometimes referred to by UNESCO as Population, Family, Sex Education or PoFaSED education programs. Many of the recommended curriculum ingredients contained in this triad are to be found in the new Chinese text Population Education. In the preface is noted the following statement:

> 'The constitution of the PRC stipulates that the state shall encourage and enforce birth planning. The Central Committee of the CCP in its 'Open Letter to all Communists and Communist Youth League Members on Population Growth Control',

> published in September 1980, has explained the significance of the population problems and the nation's population policies and guidelines. Our people including young students, ought to understand the reasons why birth planning and planned control of population growth should be carried out in China'. [21]

The book provides straightforward information on human sexual reproduction, and contraceptive knowledge, perhaps not available in quite such frank detail previously in other Chinese secondary text books. The brief and illustrated section on birth control principles is factual with no attempt made to moralise. The prevention of pregnancy is likewise discussed without reference to marriage although in China and certainly in the school context, it is tacitly understood that sexual relations should be fostered only within the bonds of marriage. The nation's population plan is described as 'an important part of the national economic plan, the national population plan formulated on the basis of census results, the 'primary population plan is the plan formulated by the peoples commune, brigade, factory, school and residents' committee according to the targets set in the national plan' and on the lowest level based on targets set for all child bearing women.[22] Middle school graduating students of 17 years of age, who would normally some three to five years later be legally eligible for marriage, are clearly given forewarning in *Population Education* that 'the primary population plan will be enforceable on all individuals'.[23] So teenaged youngsters are provided with a clear indication while still in secondary school, that they will soon be subject to both provincial regulations and local community initiative in encouraging them to have only a single child when they become married. Another section in *Population Education* discusses a topic not normally found in similarly structured text books of other Asian nations. It includes a section on the 'Significance of Eugenics', which states 'while we practice birth planning and encourage people to give birth to only one child we should pay particular attention to the improvement of our population quality through eugenic control'.[24] This section contains two graphic and somewhat unflattering sketches of what are labelled as examples of hereditary and congenital diseases, namely *osteogenesis imperfecta* and *congenital dementia*. Chinese students are warned that the new marriage law of 1980 clearly stipulates that 'marriage of collateral consanguineous relatives within three generations is expressly forbidden'.[25] Again the readers of Population Education are informed that the marriage law does not permit persons suffering from serious hereditary diseases to become married or to give birth to children. The book goes on to indicate that prenatal diagnosis is available to control the incidence of hereditary disease, and if a pregnant woman is suspected of having a hereditary disease 'amniotic fluid can be taken to determine if the foetus is diseased - if the medical test is positive the pregnancy will be terminated'.[26] The incidence of genetic malformation is often a continuing and worrying factor for health services in many rural parts of China. Hence the appropriate and pointed warnings contained in Population Education concerning eugenics and the improvement of population quality through the rigorous promotion of eugenic study and investigation.

The book, while obviously representing a major textual innovation for middle school students, is also clearly intended to be discussed and read eventually by the general public. It is written clearly and, certainly from a contemporary Chinese demographic and political point of view, unambiguously. The work is introduced by a brief exposition of Marxist population theory, and, as might be imagined, introduces the names of Marx and Engels to the reader in a positive fashion and that of Malthus in a negative light. Surprisingly of all the theorists on population mentioned in Population Education only one Chinese name is noted, and that is not of the late Chairman Mao Tsetung. Rather it is the name of Ma Yinchu, scholar, educator and economist and former President of Beijing University. Ma, in the 1950s became better known for his novel and controversial ideas contained in A New Population Theory, suggesting the need for drastic family planning to regulate runaway birth levels, which he said would continue to impoverish China is left unchecked. In 1960 Ma was dismissed from his university post and confined to obscurity until 1979 when he was officially rehabilitated and his population theories once again popularised. Ma, who died on 10 May 1982 at the age of one hundred has at last received belated recognition throughout China and especially in academic circles for his demographic studies and foresightedness. It is perhaps a fitting tribute to his memory that

Ma's name is featured prominently in Population Education and eventually millions of secondary school youngsters throughout China will be reminded of one of the most original thinkers in China's campaign against an impending population explosion.

In conclusion, as a pertinent statement of justification, it is perhaps fitting to quote from the introductory preface of Population Education, namely 'Our people, including young students, ought to understand the reasons why birth planning and planned control of population, of population growth should be carried out in China'.[27] Li Zepang, the editor of the English language Department of Peoples' Education Press in Beijing, and a senior official responsible for the book's publication has however cautiously also noted:

> The population education programme in China is still in its infancy and it lacks experience. At present population education is conducted only in ordinary schools and is not carried out in other kinds of schools. Leaders in some schools have still to realize its importance and there is much to be improved in the content and means and quality of teaching. Profitable experience from other countries will benefit population education in China tremendously. [28]

FOOTNOTES

1. For details with extensive documentation see the author's chapter 'China and Vietnam Population Policies: A Survey of Contrasting Developments'.In Gavin Jones (ed.) The Demographic Transition in Asia: Canberra: Department of Demography, A.N.U., (In press)

2. For details of China's 1982 census results see: Stewart E. Fraser, 'China Counts 1,008,175,288 People', Intercom, Population Reference Bureau, Washington, D.C. 10:11/12,Nov/Dec. 1982, pp.3-5; and 'Some Analysis of China's Population Situation', (Population Analysis Group, Census Office, Beijing 27 October 1982) in Ren Min Ribao (Peoples' Daily) 16 November 1982, translated in Summary of World Broadcasts (SWB) BBC, Far East, W1214/A/8 December 1982.

3. For details of Vietnam's 1979 census results see: Stewart E. Fraser, 'Vietnam's First Census', Intercom, Population Reference Bureau, Washington, D.C. 8:8, August 1980, pp.8-9 and 'Enumerations - Vietnam', Asian and Pacific Census Forum, 7:2, November 1980, p.3.

4. China's policy towards certain minorities is likely to change in the light of recent census dats showing significant population increases for all minority groups. Overall, since the last census in 1964, national minorities (of whom there are 55 officially recognised groups) have shown an increase of 68.4%, compared to a rise in the Han nationality of 43.8%. Nationalities numbered 67.2 million in 1982 with the largest of the national minorities including the Zhuang 13.3m., Hui 7.2m., Yi 5.4m., Miao 5.0m., Manchu 4.2m., Tibetan 3.8m., and Mongolian 3.4m. See New China News Agency Radio Broadcast of 28 October 1982. Translated in Summary of World Broadcasts (SWB) BBC, FE/7174/c/1, 4 November 1982.

5. See 'Population and Birth Planning in the Peoples Republic of China', Population Reports, Series J., No. 25, X:1, January/February 1982 pp. J-577-J.619 passim, especially pp.J-579-J581.

6. See Dinh Thi Can (Vice-Minister of Health DRVN) 'Mother and Child Welfare', Chapter 3, in 25 Years of Health Work: Vietnamese Studies, No. 50, 1970, pp.41-45; and Pham Ngoc Thach, '1964 Prospects for the Medical Branch in Y Hoc Thuc Hanh (Practical Medicine)No.103, Hanoi January 1964, p.2-6. Translated in Joint Publications Research Service (JPRS) Political and Sociological Information on North Vietnam, No. 73, 12 May 1964.

7. See Aspects of Population Growth in the Republic of Vietnam 1969-1990, (no authorship), pp.30, (pamphlet produced circa 1971 by Ministry of Health, Saigon; and Population Aspects in the Republic of Vietnam 1973-1974, prepared by sub-committee on Statistics, Family Health Committee, Secretariat of the National Population Council, Saigon, 1975.

8. See 'China and the One Child Family' in Studies in Family Planning, 13:6/7, June/July 1982, pp.208-221; and Stewart E. Fraser 'One's Good, Two's Enough', Far Eastern Economic Review, 117:25, July 1982, pp.18-19 and 'China Census:Population Policy for the Future', La Trobe University Bulletin, 14:12, 27 June 1983; on female infanticide see 'Save the Baby Girls', Zhong guo Qingnian Bao (China Youth Daily), 9 November 1982, translated in Short Wave Broadcasts (SWB) BBC, FE/7204/B11/1, 9 December 1982.

9. See Stewart E. Fraser, 'UN Aid to China for Population Research', The Australian, 2 September 1981, p.14.

10. See 'Regional Consultative Seminar for the Qualitative Improvement of Population Education Programmes in Asia and the Pacific' (Bangkok 11-18 October 1982). Population Education... No. 17 1 December 1972, pp.2-8.

11. Synopsis of Working Papers (mimeo) provided by Workshop Secretariat Bangkok, October 1982.

12. Nguyen Duc Minh, Vietnam:Country Report, UNESCO, Bangkok, October 1982, p.7. (Working papers, mimeo).

13. Quoted in mimeo documents provided by Dr. Nguyen Duc Minh, First Deputy Director, National Institute of Educational Science, and Head, Commission on Population Education, Ministry of Education, Hanoi, Socialist Republic of Vietnam. See also ibid. p. 9-10.

14. ibid. p.7.
15. Sun Dongtan, China:Country Report, UNESCO, Bangkok, October 1982, p.4.
16. 'Population Education - China'. Mimeographed briefing notes, provided to author by United Nations Fund for Population Activities, Beijing Office, May 1982.
17. See UNESCO Population and Family Education, Asian Regional Workshop 7 September - 7 October, 1970. Final Report, Bangkok, UNESCO Regional Office for Education in Asia, 1971, p.13.
18. Discussions by author with Professor Hu Wei Weh and staff (May/June 1982) of the Population Education and Curriculum Unit at the Beijing Institute of Education in regard to the aims, scope and context of the new courses curriculum, teaching materials and texts to be used.
19. ibid.
20. For a general description of the Population Institutes, during their year of formation, see Stewart E. Fraser, 'UN Aid to China for Population Research', The Australian, 2 September, 1981, p.14.
21. Ministry of Education, Population Education, Peoples Education Publishing House, Beijing, 1981, p.1. (Text in Chinese - unofficial English language translation courtesy of colleagues to the author at Beijing Normal University, and Beijing Institute for Education).
22. See Population Education, Chapter 9, passim.
23. ibid. p.73.
24. See Population Education, Chapter 6, Section on 'Significance of Eugenics'.
25. ibid. pp.44-45.
26. ibid. p.45.
27. ibid. p.1.
28. Li Zepeng, 'Population Education in Schools of the Peoples' Republic of China', Population Education, No. 17, December 1982, p.15.

Maoists would shorten courses and reduce the time spent in schools and universities. Assessment methods were varied, and traditional examining would lose its force as teachers made more use of examinations as diagnostic and teaching tools.

Finally, the school management was overhauled to pave the way for the introduction of revolutionary committees, decision-making bodies, on which there was representation of all interested members of the institution.[23] This collective leadership demonstrated in their work the importance of collective thinking and socialist consciousness. As a consequence of their mixed membership (i.e. lay, professional, and party) they were able to ensure that schools maintained a close connection with local, proletarian, and party interests.

At all times the Chinese were to be aware of the evils of specialization and bureaucracies. Government officials (cadres) were sent to MAY 7th Cadre Schools to learn how to mix with, and assist the people. High school students, upon graduation, were sent to the countryside to assist the farmers and to learn how the peasants lived and worked, as were also teachers and academics.

Thus through a strong politicization programme, the Maoists aimed at raising the political consciousness of the people in order to motivate them to work, to prepare them to live in the new socialist society, and to clarify and publicize the goals of educational and social equality which were to be the underlying tenet of that society.

These then were the educational ideas of the Maoists, who dominated during the period known as the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. By these methods, they maintained, a China would be developed which would be both economically and politically strong, and, with the isolationist policy accompanying this, China would stand united as an independent power self-sufficient and unified in its goal towards reaching a communist state.

Turning now to look at the Modernizers who hold control at the current time, and had been gaining this hold increasingly since the arrest, in October 1976, of the Gang of Four.

POPULATION EDUCATION
CURRENT STATE OF DEVELOPMENT IN CHINA AND VIETNAM
(1981-1982)

Country	Curriculum development	Personnel training	Research and Evaluation	Documentation and Information exchange
China Peoples' Republic of	a) Integration of population education into political studies, geography and physiology and hygiene in secondary schools b) Development of a physiology and hygiene textbook entitled "Lectures on Late Marriage and Family Planning"; a textbook entitled, "Lectures on Population Education" and a book entitled, "Population Education"	a) 4,945 teachers had been trained, 59 teachers training courses for population education in secondary schools had been conducted b) Development of a teacher training book called "Essentials of Demography" c) Development of National Source Book d) Development of a slide-tape presentation, maps and charts	Survey of teaching plans, curricula and textbooks to determine the effectiveness of integrating population education into physiology and hygiene during puberty	a) Building of population education collection in the Ministry of Educatio and 20 pedagogical institutes and secondary schools b) Training of two librarians documentation and information services in population education in UNESCO
Vietnam, Socialist Republic of	(Still in planning stage)	a) National training of high-level officials from the Ministry of Education b) Four-week study visits of key personnel to population education programs in Asia	(Still in planning stage)	(Still in planning stage)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

FROM MAO TO KNOW

ROS GILLESPIE and COLIN COLINS

Scores of articles and books have been written on education in the People's Republic of China since the dramatic changes of 1976. During that year, the two most significant dramatis personnae of the Republic died (Zhou-en-Lai and Mao-tse-Tung) and four important political persons were jailed (the so-called "Gang of Four"). Although initially there was a struggle regarding the degree of implementation of the Four Modernisations, (the main Chinese Communist Party policy since 1976), this policy which was initiated by DENG XIOPING and later carried out in a moderate way by HUA GUOFUNG has now become firmly entrenched under HUYA BANG. Confirmed at the Third Plenium of the Communist Party of China in December 1978, it was completed at the Plenium in June 1981. In essence, the new policy chosen by China was one which emphasized gross output and productivity, whereas the previous policy (seen in operation during the decade 1966-1976 of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution under Chairman Mao) has as its central concern the distribution of wealth and political power.

This great swing in Chinese internal policy was reflected in the Chinese educational system. It is possible to categorize specific changes, as many scholars have shown. It is more difficult to explain what is going on, both pragmatically and theoretically, or, more specifically, whether the changes have taken place mainly as a result of the new Chinese leadership. In this essay, we intend to look at the shifts in educational style between the so-called Maoists and the Modernizers, and to a modest attempt at an explanation. The components of the essay will involve:

(1) an account of changes in the economic policy of China since 1976;

(2) an explanation of the position of education under the Four Modernisations; and

(3) notes towards a Marxist critique of the new Chinese practice.

1. CHINESE ECONOMIC POLICY

In their book, China since the Gang of Four, Andrew Watson and Bill Brugger describe both industrial development and rural policy since the demise of the "Gang of Four". In this book, Watson's comments concerning the changes are particularly summarive and enlightening. The post-1976 policies are summarised thus:

> The argument advanced during the Cultural Revolution that Socialist revolution in the relations of production is necessary to ensure the consolidation and development of the economic base has been revised by the argument that the relation of production must correspond to and be defined by the development of an economic base which is already, in essence, oriented towards socialism.[1]

For the Gang of Four (which represented Mao's thinking in its' more leftist characteristics), the first priority was towards controlling and reforming the relations of production, and to extending the scope of the revolution in the superstructure. For this reason, many of the main thrusts of the Cultural Revolution had been in the educational sphere, occupied as it was in transforming the attitudes and thinking of the Chinese people. Besides education issues, Maoists also addressed themselves to the continuing existence of the "Bourgeois Right" in China, evidence, for example, in the differing states accorded to different occupations, the eight-grade wage system, payment according to labour, exchange by means of money, adn the continuing existence of a commodity system.

Those who followed the so-called Deng or Modernist policy thought differently:

> While conceding that, under certain conditions, the relations of production and the superstructure could play a determining role, he (Deng) argued that while politics should be in command the aim of political work was 'to guarantee the completion of economic work and serve the economic base' ... The true test of a political line, therefore, was whether or not it promoted the development of the productive forces.[2]

As a result of such a policy, Deng advocated the use of capitalist technology and techniques. Under the Four Modernisations program, there has, for example, been a revival of interests in the positive aspects of 'scientifically determined technical management' (Taylorism) in the importance of foreign technology, the growth of foreign investment, consumerism, advertising and so on. In fact, the Chinese leadership now describes China's economy as a 'planned socialist commodity economy'.[3]

The two major aspects of the new policy must be the determining role of the system of ownership and the alleged political neutrality of science and technology.

> ... as for the former, the position has been taken that, once the system of ownership of the means of production has been transferred, objective economic laws which had a capitalist content in the old society become socialist in content and must still be observed. With respect to such things as the law of value, the role of profit, capital, credit, interest rates, payment according to work done, material incentives and the division of labor, the case is made that it is a distortion of Marxism to confuse their functioning under capital ownership.[4]

It is the same for the second area, i.e., the neutrality of science and technology. Management techniques, for example, differ greatly under socialism and capitalism. In fact:

> From the point of view of the productive forces, production in capitalist enterprises is large-scale, socialised productions based on modern technology. In this respect, there are no basic differences in the nature of the two and the two types of enterprise management must have points in common.[5]

Again and again, Chinese writers come back to the point that the institutions and technology of capitalism should be used. The historical reason is clear:

> ... in the course of human history, the highly developed commodity economy is an inevitable stage. The productive forces cannot be highly socialized until the commodity economy is fully developed ... but the highly developed commodity economy will not necessarily be a capitalist economy.[6]

Although the current Chinese system has the form of a commodity economy which uses the market as a mechanism, the regulating role of the market is firmly under the direction of the state planning committee. The argument once again is that the instruments - such as technology - are the same as under capitalism, however, the uses to which they are put are quite different under socialism. The highly developed commodity production economy which is now being brought into effect in China, is seen quite simply as a necessary stage in the society's progress towards the ideal of communism.

The difference between the Deng and the Maoist approaches to Chinese development may be reduced to a very simple equation (despite the fact that the arguments generated by the Chinese themselves are not only extremely complex but are also subject to many different permutations depending on whichever faction is in power at a specific time). Firstly, both the Modernizers and the Maoists agree that the forces of production are, in the main, socialized, i.e. communally owned (Industry, for example, is about 75% state owned, with most of the remainder being collectively owned. In rural areas over 90% of the land is owned communally). However, they draw quite different conclusions from this proposition. Maoists state that despite the communal ownership of the means of production, contradictions still exist in the consequent relations of production or class system in China. These arise either because of the remaining presence of bourgeois elements of the past, or because 'non-antagonistic contradictions' still exist, for example such as those between city and country, peasant and proletariat, and intellectual and manual labour. These contradictions, says the Maoists, which exist in the relations of production, need to be continually worked on so that China can become more socialist. Hence, a state of uninterrupted revolution, whose main emphasis is on changing attitudes, and on political education, is considered the ideal.

On the other hand, Deng followers (i.e. the Modernizers), would claim that because the means of production are communally owned, the resultant relations of production need not really be of great concern; hence, there is complete condemnation of the kind of continual watchfulness demanded during the Cultural Revolution. Rather, Deng followers assert, it is the means of the forces of production which now need to be further developed. It is believed, furthermore, that these can only be developed by using essentially neutral techniques which have originated in the capitalist world. Such techniques include everything from the market to computers. Techniques are neutral, they say, and socialists will use them to develop China's economic base in a truly socialist way.

Put thus crudely, the main argument against each position is also clear. The Mao line, it is said, leads to endless disruption of production; being 'red' rather than 'expert' is not good for material progress. The argument against Deng's position is that the use of capitalist institutions and technologies will lead to greater class differentiation in China and that China following this line, will inevitably become capitalist. Being 'expert' rather than 'red' would lead to a denial of socialism. The swing in these two positions may be clearly seen in a study of education in China.

2. EDUCATION IN CHINA

Thus, since the proclamation of the constitution of the Chinese Communist Party in 1949, China has undergone dramatic shifts and changes in policy and orientation. Sinologists, disagreeing on both the reasons for, and the extent of these shifts, have attempted explanations encompassing the great swings on continua such as 'Rightist-Leftist', or 'Maoist-Meritocratic' of (currently) Modernization-What-ever-its, to attempted explanation on a developmental pattern from pre-revolutionary feudalism, through a necessary period of commodity economy, resembling capitalism, onto a future of socialism. Protagonists of the latter position would support their view by claiming that the pendulum theorists hold only to superficial shifts in rhetoric (not even policy), but that as the social relationships and productive forces remained essentially the same, that is to say that the life of a 'normal' worker or peasant has not changed with these supposed swings), then these great swings are cosmetic. This they claim as support for their developmental view.

In this paper, we have supported a compromise position as was suggested in the preceding section, namely, that at all times since 1949 there have been two lines threading through the Chinese political fabric. Whereas at times one line was dominant, at other times, it wasn't. However, at any one time there were pulls and pushes as the two positions existed side by side.

For convenience we have labelled these positions as Maoist and Modernist. Their full positions will be detailed later in this paper.

However, before we embark on a discussion of the different lines taken on education, it is necessary to reflect on the special difficulties involved in studying China, and to glance back into recent Chinese history, in order to understand the particular nature of Chinese society today.

One factor needs to be stressed at this point, and that is, namely, that in China, perhaps more so than in any other country, educational changes are very much a part of larger political and economic changes. Education reacts immediately to even slight shifts in policy, reflecting the importance granted to it by Communist Party ideology. The government sees clearly and lucidly that it is through education that the most widespread and far-reaching influences and changes will take place.

In looking back at China's educational development since 1949 it is very obvious that education is viewed as crucial, (both ideologically and practically), when we see how educational policies were modified and changed to meet the demands of those in power at any particular use.

On the eve of Liberation, China found itself with a confused and disinherited, educational system : a conglomerate of Western ideas (e.g. the division of schooling into primary, secondary, and tertiary levels), traditional patterns (emphasis on obedience, strong commitment to traditions) and the Nationalist emphasis resulting from the recognition that education was an important form of human capital investment and was the key to the creation of a labour force capable of modernizing the country (Confucianism).

Throughout China's modern history, these are the forces which led to the shaping of her educational programmes at each particular point, the guiding principles being how best can education be organised to meet the requirements of socialist reconstruction, in whatever form that was taking.

Historically, then, in brief:

The years 1949-1952 saw education based largely on the emphasis on academic skills and scores on entrance examinations;

1951, however, saw the beginning of a campaign (centred on Peking and Tientsin), for the ideological remolding of intellectuals. Marxism and Leninism were studied and teachers and academics were given programmes to build up their political consciousness. This was the beginning of the campaign against corruption and bureaucratization.

In 1952, a full literacy campaign was begun and in order to facilitate this, the written word was simplified; Mandarin was made the official spoken language.

The years 1953-57 saw China turning her back on the West[7], and looking to Russia for inspiration and example.[8] Many Chinese went to study in Russia, Russian became the most populat second language, schools and universities were modelled on the example of the USSR, textbooks were directly translated from Russian, and Russian curriculum experts were imported for advice. During this period, academic standards were raised, and technical skills took precedence over political consciousness. The emphasis was on skills for modernization and economic progress.

In 1956, there were already signs of dissatisfaction with the path China was taking and the feelings of anti-rightists were becoming increasingly vocal as recognition of discrepancies became obvious.[9] For example, children from worker and peasant families were not being adequately represented in the higher levels of education[10] and students were objecting to doing manual labour.[11]

The Great Leap Forward spanned the years 1958-1959, years during which China made a concerted effort to expand her production at a much more rapid pace than hitherto. China broke away completely with the Soviet model of socialism, there was a rapid collectivization of agriculture, and light and heavy industrial plants were developed. There was a great consciousness of the necessity to balance agricultural and economic development. There was also a reduction of the power of intellectuals and bureaucrats.

Intellectuals and cadres (government officials) were transferred to manual activities alongside the peasants in the countryside[12] and in 1958 it became obligatory on all government officers in rotation, to spend a month occupied in physical work each year. The new desired attitude to be learned from this exercise was called "learning from the masses", and may be symbolized in the following poem:

> After ten months I wasn't the same,
> I left with much more than I came.
> I filled in the gap of my school education,
> Learnt that labour makes the nation.
> Today it's back to the city once more,
> An intellectual who now knows the score.[13]

The Great Leap Forward may be seen as the first dress rehearsal for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Productive labour was introduced into schools,[14] a wide range of spare time and informal education was being developed, people were encouraged to engage in extensive and continuous political discussions, and political consciousness was emphasized over technical skills.

Between the years 1960 and 1965, college examinations still existed, and the rightist forces, capitalizing on the natural disasters (e.g. the flood of 1960 which caused serious food losses), once again exerted their control and there was potential for widespread rioting in the fermenting of anti-communist feelings. Mao's dictate on February 27, 1957:

> 'Let a hundred flowers bloom
> Let a hundred schools contend.'[15]

was brought to a sharp halt during the years 1960-65.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution began with Mao Tse-Dung's May 7th, 1966, Directive:

> "While students' main task is to study, they should in addition to their studies, learn other things, that is, industrial work, farming and military affairs. They should also criticize the bourgeoisie. The school term should be shortened, education should be revolutionized, and the domination of our schools by bourgeois intellectuals should not be allowed to continue."[16]

and again in August 1968 in the communique of the Twelfth Plenium:

> "The working class must lead all forms of education and must practice proletarian dictatorship in every cultural sphere of the superstructure in order to fulfill in various stages the tasks of struggle, criticism, and

> reform, as put forward by Chairman Mao, and to carry the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution through to the end."[17]

Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-Dung Thought was taken as the theoretical basis guiding the thinking of the new Chinese Communist Party Constitution in April 1969.

The early days of the Cultural Revolution were days of intense intellectual and militant dispute. Students and workers were encouraged to criticize authorities. Schools, which had been closed in 1966, put into effect upon reopening, the policy of Mao 'of education serving proletarian politics and education being combined with productive labour'. Schooling was shortened, courses were fewer, students took part in industrial work, farming, military affairs, and the political struggles of the cultural revolution.

Posters expressing mass discontent were put up on news-stands and were widely broadcast throughout the radio and press. On August 5th, 1966, Mao put up his own poster titled 'Bombard the Headquarters.'

Industrial workers, peasants, and the People's Liberation Army (P.L.A.) were all to play a part in the schooling process. The army was entreated to 'reach into the very souls of people...to create and cultivate among the masses an entirely new proletarian ideology and culture and entirely new proletarian customs and habits.'[18] The army was to become a great educational agency, 'a great school' of Mao Tse-Tung's thought[19] which would:

> "Launch many-sided cultural activities which are rich in revolutionary educational significance, read revolutionary books, sing revolutionary songs, perform revolutionary plays, see revolutionary films, tell revolutionary stories, listen to revolutionary broadcasts...'[20]

Later we will analyze and detail the effects of the Cultural Revolution on education.[21] For now it is sufficient to note that the Cultural Revolution restated the ideals of the '49 Proletarian Revolution twenty years later, by restoring revolutionary vigor, reaffirming socialist ideals, and above all, stressing that the ideas and decisions of the new Socialist society were to come from the people. It was a triumph for mass involvement, and with that came individual commitment, responsibility and dedication to the ideal of a classless society.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was officially pronounced as having ended in 1976 when, in October, the Gang of Four were arrested and imprisoned. Mao Tse-Dung had died in September, whereupon those government officials who had been criticized, humiliated and purged during the years 1966-76, once again seized power and announced the new policy emphasis on economic modernization, namely of modernization of industry, agriculture, science and technology and defence. These are what is referred to as the "four modernizations".

Great changes were seen on the educational front; hierarchical differentiation of schools were reinstated; the curriculum was lengthened; academic standards increased, examinations reintroduced, productive labour abolished; political criticism periods disappeared; academic titles restored, and individual achievement in terms of productivity were encouraged and rewarded.

This brings us up to the present day, with Deng Xiaping holding the reins of power and China's future being unknown and unpredictable. It is almost impossible to estimate the importance of the contemporary situation in Chinese history, a feat which can only be effected with the wisdom of hindsight.

As may be seen from the foregoing amble through China's modern history, there have been two basic opposing ideologies underlying policy shifts. It is our intention now to focus these contradictory beliefs onto the education arena and to look in detail at the implication each has for education. The two lines are epitomized in the policies of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the post-C.R. period, that of the Four Modernizations. However, it is important to remember that those two lines have existed side by side since 1921, given power in 1949 and have since been involved in a see-sawing of political identities and power figures.

For convenience, the two factions will be called Maoists and Modernists.

Starting first with the Maoist line. Education was to produce people who were "Red and Expert" with redness being foremost. The 'new man' as a result of Maoist education would be a selfless person, and loyal to the people and the Party. This person would be interested in taking an active role in Chinese society, would not just study and understand it theoretically, but would work actively to further its development. (S)he was to be class conscious, and at all times be sensitive in detecting differences in class structure and be ever ready to take steps to try to eliminate them. (S)he was to be a person with scientific skills and trained to be rational and interested in investigation. Thus, the curriculum emphasized practice as being more important than theory.

Integral to the curriculum was the concept of productive labour. From the earliest kindergarten years to the most complex and sophisticated tertiary study, 'Productive Labour' was seen as the pivot point of the curriculum : school factories were attached to some city schools in the form of workshops; farm area was given to commune schools in the countryside; poor urban schools sent their students into neighbourhood factories; some schools conducted their productive labour sessions in the normal classrooms. Productive labour was the means whereby students of all ages were involved in manual labour for some periods in the week. Productive labour was seen as a fundamental activity of the educational process because it was regarded as an indispensible means of producing persons with a well-balanced development and a proletarian outlook, that is, morally, intellectually, and physically fit persons who would be able to undertake successfully the main tasks of a Maoist China, namely, engage in the class struggle, in the struggle for production, and in scientific experimentation. Furthermore, this type of activity was to promote a love of labour, and a realization of the importance of production in overcoming China's economic backwardness.

In this way the previous bourgeois attitude of contempt of manual labour by anyone who had acquired formal education, was challenged, and was changed to become a recognition of the importance of the formation of proletarian attitudes towards labour which was central in the class struggle against bourgeois values. Maoist emphasis on productive labour is very much in line with Marx who said "an early combination of productive labour with education is one of the most potent means for the transformation of present-day society."

The other side of the productive labour coin was the attachment to factories of July 21st Workers' Colleges[22] and Workers universities. The aim here was to produce practical-minded technicians with an understanding of the production process.

Productive labour was introduced to foster political and class consciousness, to develop technical skills, to minimize the difference between manual and intellectual work, and to promote respect and appreciation of manual work, and manual workers.

Also included in the curriculum was the subject Politics and Philosophy in which were studied the thought and practice of the three thinkers who underpin the policy of the Chinese Government Party, namely Marx, Lenin and Mao Tse-Dung. The curriculum also emphasized political consciousness in both the pedagogy and the content of all its subjects.

As regards to access to education, particularly at its higher levels, the Maoists aimed to educate children from working class and peasant background in proportion to their distribution in the population. Entrance to higher education was only to take place after secondary school graduates had worked in a factory or in the countryside for at least two years. The aspiring tertiary student would then need the recommendation and support of his/her workmates, and the final selection would be made on three criteria: (1) political consciousness and commitment to the revolution; (2) class background, with positive discrimination towards the worker and peasant class; and (3) intellectual ability, a low third in importance.

Not only were there to be no special schools for talented children, but there was to be no ability grouping within schools. Maoists were firmly committed to the notion of the communal sharing not only of property, but of knowledge, and maintained that by being in one class, bright children may help slower ones and so give them an opportunity to get the most out of education.

The Modernizers emphasize the importance of rapid economic modernization and use this as the guiding principle dictating their policy on all matters.

While agreeing with the aim of 'red and expert', Modernizers place the emphasis squarely on expertise. Supporters believe that the main function of the schools is to teach students the academic and technical skills that will enable them to become productive members of the labour force. As these proponents believe that large scale nationalization and collective ownership ignores the private sector of the economy and sees individual ownership as a necessary supplement to the socialist economy, so too do they maintain the individual excellence in school be rewarded and reinforced through the provision of special schools, special facilities and special consideration to such students. Bright children should be pushed ahead as quickly and as efficiently as possible to ensure the most efficient use of resources.

The curriculum for bright students will have an emphasis on theoretical study, with more practical work being allocated to the normal and dull students. While this once again forces the social division between manual and intellectual labour and hence exasapates the class differences with increased differentiation of salary, the Modernists would claim this to be a necessary path towards rapid progress, and hence the development of the Chinese economy, after which they can again afford to spend time on teaching people the importance of a socialist political consciousness and once again engage in a class struggle.

Productive labour has been all but taken out of the educational programme, and, where it remains, the intention is to develop the technical skills of the student and to help in production. The purpose of political contientisizing for which the Maoists introduced the concept of productive labour, has, in the main, disappeared.

The Modernists have lengthened and extended the school and tertiary years. Entrance to tertiary institutions is primarily on results of competitive examinations which were reintroduced in 1976. Workers universities and colleges have closed, and as a result new production level heights have been achieved as more time is spent on the shop floor.

As regards administration, the Modernists have replaced the revolutionary committee with principals, directors and managers. The rationale is based on grounds of efficiency and productivity.

Modernists aim to produce a group of skilled people who can help revive economic output and productivity. Despite the acknowledged inequities in the educational system where children from privileged families have an increased advantage, the argument is made that in order to attain a communist state it is necessary first to raise the standard of living and the level of education of the people. The class struggle must be postponed as must the politicization of the population until China has achieved modernization. This will be when the communes become mechanized, the factories automated, and when the level of scientific enterprise has brought China into the computer and space age. Only then, claim the Modernists, can the Maoist emphasis be re-employed. Until then, everything that promotes the goal of Modernization is justified and applicable.

The Modernizers in separating the technical and scientific from the political and ideological show the latter as almost a luxury, the enjoyment of which is donated by hard-headed and disciplined attention to the former. Modernizers treat the struggle for production and technical advance and the class struggle as independent struggles governed by different principles and requirements. Thus it follows for the Modernists that class struggle is conceived in limited and discrete terms as "politics"; and so as a battle against groups representing capitalists and for the consolidation of socialist education and ideology. This would take place in schools, in the Party, through the media and so forth, in locations largely physically separate from those where the technical and production struggles would take place.

Since 1949 the Chinese people have been receiving increasingly contradictory messages about the purposes of the experiences they were undergoing. It is not surprising then, that many are confused and torn and have resorted to convenient amnesia in wishing to keep favour with the regime. Many say that the current trends cannot be reversed without another revolution, that separation and class divisions have already gone too deeply. However, the contribution of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution cannot be erased and the latter-day condemnation of it exposing what were at times, its patchy application and the provisional and fragile nature of its operation is not to abandon its significance. It remains a coherent and unique experiment by the Maoists, and a worthy critique of the Modernizers.

That the current regime is having problems is quite clearly shown. In April, 1981, Mao, apparently consigned to the dustbin of history a year before, was picked out and dusted off, represented as seriously mistaken only in the late years of his life. So, whether his ideals and those of his followers will ever be restored, remains the secrete of history.

3. CHINESE PRACTICE AND MARXIST CRITIQUE

The changes in Chinese education having been described, the question may now be asked as to why they have been introduced within the current Chinese context. While admitting that the turnabout from the Maoist to a 'modernizing' policy was not as drastic in some educational facets as in others, changes of great importance have been noted. Why did these changes occur? Were they due to a certain pragmatism in the face of the alleged failures of the Cultural Revolution? (It is significant that the power-wielders in the China of 1976-81 are known as the "Practice" group), or, on the other hand, has the change which has taken place been a result of significant alteration in the socialist ideology which dominates Chinese education?

Ron Price would answer this in terms of the failure of the Maoist line to produce results, and the greater pragmatism of the new leaders. In his "Education, why a Reversal",[24] he points out that in the first place, there is a great lack of educational theory in China, which, in his estimation, has led to a predominance of pragmatism. He asserts that:

> "The twelve years of discussion (and perhaps, eight years of experiment) which followed 1966 exhibit a poverty of theory which some sympathetic observers find it hard to admit. For all the wall posters, pages of newsprint and the millions of participants in word and deed, educational theory has not been advanced beyond a small number of propositions put forward by Mao himself."[25]

Price goes on to state that the Chinese never seemed to produce an educational theory, in absence of which the Chinese leadership constantly reverted to methods of education that had been tried and found successful elsewhere. In order to bring about progress, the Chinese assert, the examination system must be used, elite schools and universities created and special consideration given to research concerns. Schooling increasingly came to be viewed as a neutral tool in the hands of the socialist bureaucracy, which would produce the experts needed for modernizing. As Price says:

> "...given the present leaderships' economic goals and perceived needs for specialists, it is not surprising that they turn to methods of training which have demonstrated their effectiveness in China and abroad."[26]

Pragmatism or 'practice' is, however, an ideology in itself and certainly has outcomes that may be at variance with state policies. The obvious question that is now being asked is: How red/socialist is China? As the same question has been more frequently asked of Soviet society and because we maintain that the Peoples' Republic of China is now more closely approximating the Soviet Union in its quest for modernisation, it may be apposite to mention the two major theories concerning modern socialist societies.

These two theories are both marxist. One being, that the Soviet and other socialist societies are, in fact, bureaucratic forms of state capitalism, the other, that such societies are transitional economies of a worker state.

The state capitalist thesis is levelled as a criticism by such marxists as Herbert Marcuse,[27] (1958:105), Sweezy and Bettelheim,[28] (1971), as also by the International Socialists (now the Socialist Workers Party) and, of course, by the Chinese Communist Party after the death of Stalin (1953). It's main criticisms could be summarised thus:

(1) For the Soviet, the October 1917 Revolution created the conditions for the development of a capitalist mode of production because the means of production were not at a level superior to those of advanced capitalist societies;

(2) Socialist relations of production do not simply follow from the state ownership through nationalisation of the means of production;

(3) State ownership of the means of production may give rise to a ruling class (i.e. bureaucracy) deriving its power from its control over the means of production.[29]

Could this rather harsh opinion of the Soviet be applied to post 1976 China? We think not. Rather, Chinese writers and policy makers have declared themselves, at least in rhetoric, far closer to the "Workers State" theorists of the socialist society. This concept was originally developed by Trotsky, and the elaboration of the thesis of the transitional economy has been carried out by Ernest Mandel. This position can rather loosely be summarized as follows:

(1) The Society bureaucracy is not a class: "...it is recruited, supplemented and preserved in the manner of an administrative heirarchy, independent of any special property relations of its own."[30]

(2) The fundamental purpose of capitalists accumulation is the aim of producing surplus value: "Profit remains the purpose and driving force of capitalist production which in turn is based on competition and the quest for markets."[31] In the Soviet system, accumulation is for producing use-values, which is based on central planning which decides on the level and growth of production and accumulation. Hence, for Mandel such societies have a non-capitalist mode of production, but a basically bourgeois mode of distribution (Mandel, 1969, 14). Thus such societies are:

(3) Transitional societies, i.e. half-way between capitalism and socialism. These societies are not classless. Moreover they still have "a partial commodity production, not yet universal production for use; there is still money; there are still social conflicts and there is still a state."[32] (Mandel, 1969, 17).

It is not possible to detail this analysis here, but it would seem to us that, in broad outline at least, this is the view that post-1976 China has of itself. To quote only one example:

> "Social production does not depend merely on regulation by planning but also gives full play to the regulatory role of the market under the direction of State planning. ...Despite the fact that common labour and common ownership by the entire society does not exist different degrees and divergent forms of such labour and ownership have been achieved... The road (chosen by China) shows that the material foundation for communism can be built on highly socialized production deriving from the full development of the socialist commodity production."[33]

This cursory glance at how Marxists see modern Socialist societies and China in particular does not do justice to the richness of the material produced. What has been presented here in skeletal form is designed only to enlighten the debate on Chinese education. In terms of the wider society, Maoists would probably declare the modernizing policies to be moving China on the road to state capitalism. The followers of Deng would see themselves as a socialist worker state in transition between capitalism and full socialism. What of education?

Western Marxists have had much to say about systems of education under capitalism. Because almost all write at a very generalised level concerning macro issues, the propositions produced are frequently embarrassingly vague. The main statements of western marxists are as follows:

(1) The most important element in all social formations is the economic base or the means/forces of production. The social relations of production or the way in which people or groups of people relate to each other are dependent upon the relationship of people to the means of production.

(2) The ruling class control capitalist societies mainly by accumulating via the use of surplus value. In order to continue their ownership over the means of production, they need to maintain capitalist relations of production. To do so, they need to control:

    (a) the state and its agencies
    (b) the prevailing ideology (hemomonic control)
    (c) the schools.

(3) Change from capitalism to socialism needs to be directed to altering the ownership of the means of production. This can only be done by the proletariat or those who do not own.

(4) Schooling is a minor part of the superstructure of a particular social formation. Under capitalism, schooling is for the purpose of:

    (a) producing the kind of labour that capitalists need (i.e. some intellectual, others manual); who have the appropriate skills and attitudes (discipline for the worker). In short, schools reproduce the class nature of society;

    (b) reproducing the dominant ideology needed to perpetuate the capitalists system (as, for example, the importance of the individual, self-achievement, and competition).

(5) Hence change towards a socialist society:

    (a) cannot be won or fought in a significant way in the schools (Gramsci an exception?)

    (b) any reforms in schools can only be of a mildly 'preparatory' character.

For the most part, marxist educational writers have not turned their attention to socialist societies. We go further and state that most western educationalists writings are so general as to have little use in analysing what is transpiring in socialist or quasi-socialist societies. The propositions enunciated are simply inadequate, not merely because they don't point to a socialists utopia in detail but because they don't really explain in detail what goes on in capitalist societies. There are two different views on education in China today, and it is not sufficient to declare one (the Maoist) socialist, and the other (the Modernist) to be quasi-capitalist. One Chinese statement on the schooling system of a transitional socialist commodity economy could be of interest.[34] (It should be noted that many such articles are now appearing within China.)

The core of this article grades the various opinions within marxism concerning education as part of the superstructure. The grading is fairly obvious, and sees education as either a very strong element in society, to be concentrated on in any socialist society (the Maoist view) to another which sees education more as a productive force (the Dengist view). The 5 views are interesting; they are as follows:

(1) Education is a superstructure of society.

This is a view which the author seems to impute to the Gang of Four, whom, he says, mistakenly argue for "exercising all-round dictatorship in the realm of the superstructure" and education which is an integral part of it.

(2) Education is basically a superstructure.

In this view, education as part of the superstructure, is 'indirectly related to the forces of production through the medium of productive relations'. But, and this seems crucial to China's new educational policy, "among severan factors of education, there are some relatively stable ones which are common to all classes and do not fall within the category of superstructure."[35] (p. 19). Included in these would be:

- the natural sciences, some objective truths, and data in the social sciences, spoken and written language and the skills of culture and art.
- some parts of the educational system, e.g. facts on school age, the arrangement of educational institutions, some ways of organizing courses, some pedagogical principles, methods and means.
- knowledge of the laws governing the physical and mental development of children.

Hence the next position:

(3) One part of education belongs to the superstructure; the other does not.

In this section, the author declares that education has two functions. He maintains that "in class society any part of education that is related to its ideological and political orientation (emphasis mine) has a class character and belongs to the superstructure". The second function is "neutral" from a class point of view and does not belong to that superstructure. This other function is "to serve the growth of production, which means spreading the experience in labour and the knowledge of production."[36] This other function is concerned with "producing the knowledge of science and generating new knowledge of science."[37]

(4) Education as a whole does not belong to the superstructure but is part of the productive forces.

The next position hardly seems distinguishable from the manpower theorists in capitalist countries. Marxist language is still being used:

> "..with the development of the inner contradictions of productive forces, especially since science and technology are participating in modern production as an independent factor (emphasis ours), among the productive forces, education has changed from a condition of production to an independent factor in the productive process and has become an important part of a nation's economy."

Then, however, the author goes on to take education right back into the "independent" economic base by using the concept of "educational investment". As he states:

> "...besides labour power and the means of production which are the basic factors, other important economic factors have been added to them such as science and technology, the science of management, technical personnel and educational investment."[38]

This view is crucial and would seem to be the present 'marxist' view of education in China. The major components of education are value neutral and have nothing to do with superstructure and ideology. Education, like science, technology and management, has to do with the economic base of society; they follow objective laws, laws common to both socialist and capitalist societies.

(5) Education is closely related to all aspects of social life.

The last view seems to take education out of a marxist framework (or at least this particular one) completely. "Marx and Engles never said that every completed social phenomenon should be identified with the base or with the superstructure. Stalin pointed out that some social phenomena belong neither to the base nor to the superstructure."[39]

Finally, the author gives the reason for this analysis:

> "Now that the Gang of Four has been smashed, we should give up this inaccurate and unscientific formilation (that education is part of the superstructure and a site of class struggle) and replace it with the slogan 'education must serve socialist modernisation'".[40]

CONCLUSIONS:

1. The first conclusion that can be drawn from the foregoing has already been stated, namely that although two particular 'emphases' have been cited as representing the literature concerning Chinese development in general and education in particular, yet the two lines often intermeshed and exist at the same time albeit sometimes not in the same location. In the main, however, we are of the opinion that Chinese society is still definitely socialist. In particular, we incline to seeing it as a 'transitional worker state' with at least a partial emphasis on commodity production.

2. The educational system is being used to reproduce the prevailing ideology. This ideology has shifted from being a primary focus as during the Cultural Revolution in which its main tenet was that of a classless society to that of being of minor importance but in which the message of the 'hidden curriculum' is that of a meritocracy. Hence many of the practices - as opposed to the statements - within the current post-1976 ideology have many of the appearances of those of a capitalist state.

3. The effects of these new practices will undoubtedly produce a technocratic elite whom, in the last analysis, may well replace the political elite in China. As already stated, whether this does happen or not will depend on the way in which this new elite is rewarded and controlled. That is the question which the Chinese leaders will soon face in a society in which commodity production is being encouraged.

FOOTNOTES

1. Brugger, W. ed. China Since the Gang of Four, 1980, p.90.

2. Ibid., p.92.

3. Bejing Review, vol.34, 24 August, 1981.

4. Brugger, 1980, p.93.

5. Jiang Xuemu CMRB, 23 September, 1978.

6. Bejing Review, vol.35, 24 August, 1981, p.17.

7. This was a direct result of the Korean War (1950-53) when hostility to modern influences symbolically highlighted the interference and indignity that China had suffered for a hundred years at the hands of Western powers.

8. This was especially after the signing of an agreement with the USSR on scientific and cultural cooperation in 1954.

9. In April 1956, Mao told the political bureau that certain errors existed in the Soviet model of socialism, and that China should learn from, but not uncritically copy Soviet policies. See Mao Tse-Tung, On the Ten Major Relationships (1956), in Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung Vol.V. Bejing: People's Publishing House, pp.184-307, 1977. See also Mao Tse-tung, On the Correct Handling of Contradiction Among the People, (1957), ibid., pp.384-421.

10. Fraser, S. ed. Chinese Communist Education: Records of the First Decade, N.Y., Wiley and Son, 1965.

11. Nee, V. The Cultural Revolution at Peking University, N.Y., Monthly Review Press, 1969.

12. Estimates of numbers transferred range from one million to 'many million'.

13. Peking Review, 11, no.6, 10 February, 1959.

14. For full description, see pp.13-14 of this article.

15. Mao Tse Tung. On the correct handling of contradictions ... op.cit., p.207.

16. Shi Ming Hu, and Eli Seifman, eds. Toward a New World Outlook: A Documentary History of Education in the People's Republic of China, 1949-1976, N.Y., AMS Press, 1976.

17. Peking Review, 6 September, 1968.

18. The Great Socialist Cultural Revolution in China, Peking Foreign Language Press, 1966, p.23.

19. Mao Tse-Tung, 7 May, 1966, The 7 May Directive.

20. The Great Socialist ... op.cit., p.24.

21. see p.16 of this article.

22. Named from the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant in 1968 which first introduced the idea of Workers' Colleges to "create technicians from among the workers".

23. Thus in a school, the Revolutionary Committee would include representation not only of the staff and student body, but also of the janitor, clerical staff, parents, community members and members of the Peoples' Liberation Army and the Communist Party.

24. Price, Ron. In W. Brugger, China since the Gang of Four.

25. Ibid., p.203.

26. Ibid., p.226.

27. Marcuse, H. Soviet Marxism: A Critical Analysis, Routledge, 1958.

28. Sweezy, P. and Bettelheim, C. On the Transition to Socialism. Moulting Review Press, 1971.

29. Lane, D. The Socialist Industrial State: Towards a Political Sociology of State Socialism, Allen and Unwin, 1976.

30. Ibid., p.30.

31. Ibid., p.37.

32. Mandel, E. The Inconsistencies of State Capitalism, 1969.

33. Bejing Review, no.34, 24 August, 1981, pp.16, 17.

34. Li KEJING in Social Sciences in China, no.3, 1980.

35. Op.cit., p.19

36. Op.cit., p.19.

37. Op,cit., p.20.

38. Op.cit., p.21.

39. Op.cit., p.22.

40. Op.cit., p.24.

KIRIBATI - THE SEARCH FOR EDUCATIONAL DIRECTION IN A PACIFIC CONTEXT

COLIN HINDSON

INTRODUCTION

The decade of the 1970's was a period when developing countries in the Pacific began to give deeper consideration to their educational aims. Political, economic and social changes brought with them criticism of the slow rate of educational change, and of the type of education that existed. There was a growing awareness that the majority of students who could not proceed to secondary school might benefit from a curriculum designed for living in their own island communities. Often this awareness was expressed only in vague terms, and practice continued to be to pursue more schooling of the type that already existed.

The 1970's thus was a period of tension in formulation of educational policy - between and among educators, economists, planners, parents and politicians. These tensions are apparent in the conflicting views that appeared in planning documents, economic and educational, in education reports and enquiries, in reports of seminars on education and in Parliament where both views of the public and of political convenience were elaborated. This articles will examine the existence and reconciliation of these conflicting, and often shifting views in the formulation of changes in education policy in Kiribati from 1969 to the early 1980's. Consideration is restricted to primary and secondary level schooling as being the major areas of concern in a specific context.

Kiribati is an independent Republic (1979) with approximately 56,000 people (1978 census), consisting of the Gilbert, Phoenix and Line Islands plus Banaba. In 1969, these islands were part of the Gilbert and Ellice Island Colony (hereafter G.E.I.C.), from which the Ellice Islands separated to become Tuvalu in 1975. No distinction is made between the groups before 1975 in this article, as policy was consistent for all, and the Ellice group was the minority, though where possible references are made to the schools in the Gilberts only. The system is not large - in Kiribati in 1981 there were 102 government and four private primary schools in the Gilbert and Line Islands and Banaba, with 13,836 students and 450 teachers. There was one government high school, 4 non-government, and 2 unaided "community high schools". At this level there were 661 students and 94 teachers in 1981, plus 711 at the two "Community High Schools" in South Tarawa.

EDUCATIONAL DIRECTION IN THE EARLY 1970's

Educational direction for the early 1970's was set by the 1969 Tregear Report on Educational Development in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands. At that stage the system consisted of a 6 year primary school commencing at age 6, a government high school with Forms 1-5, and 3 unaided church "junior secondary" schools (Form 1-3, 2 Catholic, 1 Protestant). The control of education was diffuse. Primary schools were run by government, Island Council, Mission or village; some had trained teachers, some had government aid. During the late 1960's there had been attempts to consolidate smaller schools into larger units, with some government assistance, and a proposal to set up a pilot project of 2 year general secondary schools. However these programmes proved beyond the colony's resources.[1] Nevertheless there was evidence that people seemed dissatisfied with the programme of only 6 years of education for the majority of children.

This was reflected in a debate on education in the House of Representatives (May 1969) prior to Tregear's visit. The Resident Commissioner stressed economic restraint, and that the colony could not afford better primary education. On manpower grounds, output from the secondary school was sufficient. The Commissioner of Works made the administration's views quite clear when he stated that education should not be regarded as an end in itself, but as a means of improving the economic future. It was suggested that the aim of universal education would have to be abandoned. Local members, however, were most unhappy with these sentiments. They spoke quite strongly against the attempt to restrain any educational expansion, and the paper under discussion was not allowed to proceed to the Committee stage.[2]

In his report of October, 1969, P.S. Tregear took a different line to that of the colony's administration. He acknowledged the social role of education, and also the political difficulty in not providing primary education to all children. While conceding secondary schooling's manpower role, he favoured for primary schooling a curriculum more suited to the majority "for whom life on an atoll remains their future". He recommended a 9 year primary school, from 6 to 15 years of age, and that government aid should be expanded. He also recommended expansion of the government secondary school, and provision of government aid to the mission and church junior secondary schools.[3]

The 1970-1972 Development Plan (February 1970) seemed not to favour educational growth. Manpower restrictions were still paramount, and the economic planners considered the demand for a primary education complete in itself and equal opportunity for all as impractical. "The need is to provide sufficient numbers with an adequate education to enable them to proceed to further secondary education to meet the shortage of skilled labour".[4] The plan saw the longer term socio-political goal of universal primary education as being reached only with great cost to the community. Speaking in the House of Representatives early in 1970, the Director of Education also took this line - that there was no need, in economic terms, to provide better-grade primary schools.[5]

Local members disagreed with this when a draft Education Policy paper, based on the Tregear Report, was passed by the House in May 1970. The aim of 9 year primary schooling was accepted, with more attention given to the relevance of the curriculum for island life. All primary schools would be eligible for government aid, as would staff. A uniform system of primary schools was to be developed. The government high school, the King George Vth/Elaine Bernacchi School (K.G.V./E.B.S.) was to be expanded but there appeared no need to expand output from the non-government junior secondary schools, though some aid was given to develop projects of a vocational nature. Debate in the House was of a much more conciliatory nature then the previous year, and the economic difficulties were conceded. It was accepted that fees would need to be charged at primary schools. Thus direction was set for education in the 1970's.

That some felt not enough attention had been given to curriculum change was evident from a symposium on teacher education held at Tarawa Teachers College in April 1971.[6] Local participants spoke of the need for more emphasis on locally relevant skills in the primary curriculum particularly at upper primary level, and a raising of the school leaving age. Of particular concern was the young school-leaver, whose education had not prepared him/her for living in their own local community.

Despite the apparent shift of education policy to a more "quality of life" emphasis, the 1971-1973 Development Plan still took a very severe manpower view of education policy. The highest immediate priority was given to increasing and improving the output of secondary school leavers, the second priority to primary education. Even here, manpower aims had to be reconciled with those relating to social change - "to develop suitable courses, curricula and teaching methods in primary schools to meet the needs of the secondary intake, prospective employment, and life in the island communities".[7] Attitude to the role of the non-government junior secondary schools was changing. The Development Plan recognised that "this level of output has development benefits", and allocated capital aid to these schools. The Director of Education, speaking in the Legislative Council in July, 1971 also acknowledged that "the pressure from parents has created a demand ... which is beginning to be met more copiously by junior secondary schools run by the churches".[8]

The next 3 years, to 1974 saw little change in schooling, Consolidation of smaller primary schools continued, and building grants were given to Island Councils and Catholic Mission schools. In 1973, government took over payment of all qualified teachers, and further aid for supplies was given to non-government schools. K.G.V./E.B.S. was now a 6 year school, with an upper 5th form. A Seventh Day Adventist junior secondary school is mentioned for the first time in the Education Report for 1973.

Uneasiness concerning direction in education was still reflected in planning documents and parliamentary comments during this period. The 1973-76 Development Plan, still placing educational priority on skilled manpower, for the first time recognised that other aims conflicted with this - "no solution has yet been found to the conflicting requirements of foreign-oriented secondary or vocational education for a few, against the rural and comparatively non-technical needs of most school-children". Unfortunately, the plan could offer no help to find this solution except that "... research into this problem locally must be pressed forward by the educators in full consultation with others".[9] In Parliament, speakers raised questions about the speed of social change, and education's role in this. The Director of Education in 1972 spoke of the fears of "growing materialism" and of the need for schools that reflected "the views and aspirations of the community".[10] In early 1974, the Shadow Minister for Education queried the direction education was taking, and criticised the government's policy which he saw as too academic and not geared enough to local needs.[11] In reply, the Minister pointed out that "people want more secondary schools like K.G.V.", but that the government did not intend to establish them - rather it would give aid to the church secondary schools. Here is an acknowledgement of the pressures that parents were exerting on the system, and of the role of the non-government junior secondary schools in meeting a need that the government could not. Thus, while some speakers called for attention to "quality" aspects, the government was more concerned with "quantity".

The demand for further education beyond primary school is evident when it is realised that of the 1,523 pupils in Class 6 in 1974, only 90 were admitted for Form 1 of the secondary high schools in 1975.[12] In 1975, only 17.5% of the age group in school or 13.6% of the total age group were selected for secondary education in all secondary high schools. Of this number about a quarter were provided with education beyond Form 3. This meant about 4% of the school-age group or 2% of the total age group went onto school certificate level.[13]

REVIEW OF EDUCATIONAL DIRECTION 1975

In 1975, the year of Ellice Island separation as Tuvalu, a review of education policy was carried out for the Gilberts. During late 1974, working-parties of local educators prepared a draft paper which was discussed by the Education Advisory Committee. A summary paper was then released for public discussion early in 1975, and a final paper drawn up in July. This was discussed and approved in the House of Assembly in November of 1975. The main recommendations reflected both the demand for more schools and the desire for a more "appropriate" education.[14] Primary education would revert to 6 years in a national system in which all government, Island Council and Mission schools were to be run by the Ministry, compulsory fee-free education at this level being the ultimate aim. "Community High Schools" of three years were to be set up, with a more localised curriculum catering for the needs of the many island children who could not proceed to high school. The isolated upper primary classes were to be brought together to provide these island community high schools, in which the existing syllabus was to be amended and expanded to enable pupils to more readily adapt to their home environment. It was anticipated that a wide curriculum should embrace English, mathematics, community development, mechanical skills, native arts and civics. In this way it was hoped that the pupils would be more fitted for life in their own communities. These schools, it was hoped, would be to some extent self-supporting, the buildings would be in local materials, a fee would be charged, and the school would be able to render services to the community that might be a source of income.[15]

The question of integrating the Church secondary schools with the government system was deferred by the Education Advisory Committee, which had a majority of members with church interests.[16] However, church schools were to become more integrated with the government system, becoming subject to Ministry inspection and advice, and would receive subsidies for equipment and supplies. A proposal in the summary forwarded to the Minister to investigate involvement in a 6th form College in Honiara proved politically unacceptable - the final policy recommended a 6th form at K.G.V./E.B.S., a much more popular move locally. It was stressed that the development of the new system would take some time to complete.

Thus midway through the decade, a policy prepared mainly by local people appeared to have gained consensus, and there appeared to be a recognition of both the increased demand for secondary education and the need for a curriculum relevant to those not continuing to further academic schooling. A unified system was emerging, and manpower needs were to be met through a more integrated secondary system. At this point, tensions seemed to have eased, and expectations were high.

1976 was a year of planning and preparation. A new Education Ordinance was passed, to allow absorption of Mission and Church schools and teachers into the Government system. The decision was taken to start a pilot project of 4 Community High Schools (C.H.S.) at the beginning of 1977. A Curriculum Committee had been set up to consider syllabi and teaching-training for these schools. There was some evidence even at this stage, however, that the public were unclear as to the aims of these schools. Questions in the House of Assembly tended to focus on "more" high schools rather that "what kind".

Many of the new policies were put into practice in 1977. The government assumed responsibility for all primary education when the Protestant and Catholic Mission schools and staff were completely integrated into the system, 6 schools choosing to remain independent. School fees were abolished for all classes 1-6 except for those in South Tarawa, Banaba and the Line Islands. The review of the 1973-76 Development Plan (March 1977) appeared to show a shift in development thinking (or rhetoric) away from the manpower implications of education. Concerns expressed were more with educational matters, e.g. lack of qualified teachers at primary level, and curriculum development. Apparently the aim of universal primary education, now defined as Class 1-6, had been virtually accomplished - approximately 97% of children of primary school age (6-11) attended school regularly.

The demand for high school places was reflected in the fact that in 1977 approximately 2,800 pupils aged 11-12 sat for the Common Entrance Examination, for 210 places in Form 1 for 1978.[17] High school selection was based upon candidate's performances in:

- a general ability test designed to measure potential (replaced in 1981 by a Vernacular Aptitude Test),
- a mathematics attainment test, and
- an English attainment test.

A quota system ensured that all islands presenting candidates were represented at secondary school level.

The demand for post-secondary schooling and the inadequate provision, was commented on by Love when he pointed out that the 1978 census showed that secondary school enrolment was 13% of the age group, compared to Fiji's 58%.[18] This, he stated, was a comparatively low level of participation in secondary and higher education in Pacific and in general Third World terms.

> "To some extent this is a characteristic colonial legacy, borne out by the substantial numbers of non-Pacific persons employed in key professional and administrative jobs in the country".[19]

THE COMMUNITY HIGH SCHOOL PROJECT

By the end of 1977, progress of the C.H.S project had been slower than expected. Aid had not come till late in the year, from Australia rather than Britain, and equipment and materials had not been fully distributed and set up. While the Education Report for that year stressed the experimental nature, and the practical emphasis of the C.H.S. project, leading students to local employment and to further professional training (e.g. the Marine Training School and Tarawa Technical Institute), questions raised in the House still reflected some confusion in attitude. Many members still obviously saw them as "high schools" and wanted to see them extended to all islands as soon as possible.

The direction of the Community High Schools also dominated the educational scene in 1978. Output of teachers from the Teachers College increased to meet demand at primary level, and it was announced that compulsory primary education would be phased in from 1980. Two non-government, non-aided "Community High Schools" (one Latter Day Saints, one Catholic) had opened on South Tarawa, reflecting both population pressures, and parents' desires for further education.

A major statement by the Ministry of Education, Training and Culture (M.E.T.C.) on the C.H.S. project was released during 1978. This pointed out the non-academic nature of the syllabus, and the aims of the institutions. It explained the difficulties encountered in getting the project going, and the need to wait for an appraisal of the project in 1979 or 1980 before any final judgement. The statement, however, also recognised the difficulty in convincing parents that these were not just more high schools - "It is realized that to make people understand and accept this new idea means changing their attitude which we are aware cannot be changed overnight".[20]

That this view was generally held was emphasized by a motion moved in the House in September 1978 to "expedite the construction of such schools (C.H.S.) on all islands throughout the Gilberts".[21] The mover spoke of the numerous questions and motions raised in the House to establish more secondary schools "similar to K.G.V./E.B.S.," and the establishment of the Community High Schools to overcome these problems. Although the Minister for Education spoke against the motion, stressing the nature of the C.H.S., and the short time they had been given to establish themselves, the motion was lost by one vote. Thus a change in educational direction was avoided by the narrowest of margins, reflecting the tensions and misunderstandings that existed.

In the light of this, it is interesting to note that the Governor's address earlier in 1978 had stressed that "the whole education system will be looked at carefully to ensure that, in so far as possible, it enables our young people to make a relevant contribution to the community".[22] In contrast to the start of the decade, the administration was exhorting "relevant education", and the local members wanted more academic schooling - an apparent turn-around. In truth, the demand for academic schooling had probably been present, but had not been fully articulated.

It is worth reiterating at this point Love's comment (p. 8 above) that throughout this period most of the senior administrators were British expatriates, who weilded a great deal of influence in the educational planning process. Indeed, the important 1980 speech by the Minister for Education on the Community High School issue referred to below (p. 11) was written by the Secretary for Education, then a British expatriate. It was not until 1981 that the post of Secretary for Education became localized.

The 1970-82 National Development Plan (N.D.P.) confirmed the general shift in offical rhetoric. Its main educational aim was "to develop an education system that provides for the needs and conditions of the community in both quality and quantity".[23] For the first time there was a recognition of organisational difficulties in setting up the Community High Schools. "The experience of opening the pilot schools has indicated a need for more careful planning and phasing of the process".[24] There was still reference to provision of sufficient places in academic secondary schools to meet manpower needs. Despite the rhetoric, the N.D.P. section on academic secondary schools, and the chapter on population and employment, were still firmly linked to this.

During 1979 the Education Advisory Committee recommended that a Commission of local persons should review the C.H.S. situation during

1980. An interim evaluation by an International Labour Organisation consultant during that year suggested that there had been improvement, and that the curriculum being developed was still the most appropriate "for those who may find outside employment and those whose livelihood is on their home island".[25] Less encouragingly, the Ministry publication "Community News" of October 1979 pointed out parents' disillusionment with the fact that the schools did not lead to jobs, and their desire for a more general secondary education. In fact what was emerging was a number of practical difficulties. The cost of providing adequate equipment to the schools was high, the problem of recruiting and training suitable staff was becoming apparent. Even though Tarawa Teachers College had begun training teachers for those schools, adequate preparation for an increased number would require far more facilities and planning. The relative youth of the C.H.S. school leavers and their unemployability was an added worry to parents and planners.

The Commission carried out their task and their report was issued in April of 1980.[26] In short the Commission recommended that the C.H.S. be retained, but in a modified form. It stressed that the national economy could not afford a junior general secondary for all, and generally retained the aims of the C.H.S. However, recognising the parents' doubts the Commission recommended more emphasis on English and Mathematics to a level consistent with Form III at high schools, and the awarding of a Junior School Certificate at the end of Level 3. The best students from this level should be given opportunity to enter Form 4. In association with this, they recommended that primary schooling be extended to Class 7. Despite their comments about junior secondary schools, these recommendations seemed to favor such a system. Most importantly, they recommended that immediate steps be taken to expand C.H.S. to other islands, aiming for national coverage. Pressure for further education again appeared to have found a compromise with desire for a more relevant education.

Whether this would have been able to work is a moot point. A Ministerial statement to the House in August rejected the extension of the Community High School.[27] According to the statement, the Commission had found that people wanted an academic type of education, and had rejected the role of the C.H.S. as "preparer-for-village life". The government, according to the Minister, still favoured a more practical education, but the C.H.S. experiment may have gone too far in interpreting "relevant education". The compromise reached was that primary schools would go to class 7, then some students would proceed to high schools. The rest could continue in "Upper Primary" - Classes 8 and 9, with a second chance of entry to high school after Class 9 to a special Form 2. All class 9 leavers would receive a Leaving Certificate.

EDUCATIONAL DIRECTION FOR THE 1980's

Thus the C.H.S. experiment had finished, and educational direction appeared to have altered. The system was to revert to that of the early 1970's, with some modifications. It appeared that public pressure had swung the decision-makers against continuing the C.H.S. system. Wile the Commission certainly had commented on general desires of parents and the faults in the scheme, there was also a certain ambiguity in opinions expressed, and a feeling that the faults were redeemable in time. No group had wanted the termination of the C.H.S. and the Commission had suggested a continuation of the scheme, albeit modified. The political decision-makers apparently chose to select from the Commission's report that which was publicly acceptable and economically feasible. One interpretation of the Government decision is that the modified scheme, if accepted, would have resulted in a system of more academic junior secondary schools. Thus the concept of Community education as orginally envisaged was not being met by the structural changes and growth of the pilot schools, and would have been even further diverted by the adoption and extension of the modified scheme. The better way of meeting this original concept would be to revert to the upper primary classes as parents would not see these as structurally different. Thus expectations would not be raised as they were with the separate "high school" structure. The "Community" aspects of schooling could thus be brought in through a curriculum change rather than structural change.[28] This interpretation suggests educational as well as political and economic reasons for the Government's decision. The history of the scheme demonstrated the attempts to reconcile in public education policy the tensions and pressures that existed among various sectors of the community. A compromise was reached, though the tensions and misunderstandings no doubt continued.

Thus 1981 saw Class 7 as the entry point to high school with primary school fees being phased out. Ministry policy was to consolidate classes 8 and 9 so that there were only one or two schools with upper primary level on each island, though this was meeting with mixed success. This continued into 1982, with many students staying on into Upper Primary classes. It seemed that parents saw Upper Primary as desirable for students who did not get into secondary school. Sufficient teachers were available, the teachers shortage appeared to have been solved. The first entry of pupils from Class 9 to high school took place at the end of 1982 and it remains to be seen how successful this will be, as only very few actually will gain entry.

TABLE 1

Enrolments in Secondary High Schools, Community High Schools, and Upper Primary Classes, 1975-1982.

YEAR	CLASS 7	CLASS 8	CLASS 9	SECONDARY HIGH SCHOOLS	COMMUNITY HIGH SCHOOLS GOVT.	COMMUNITY HIGH SCHOOLS PRIVATE
1975	926	685	330	795	-	-
1977	1247	1030	637	832	168	-
1978	1366	963	694	859	256	271
1979	1131	1032	603	947	527	358
1980	1295	962	741	957	418	751
1981	2024	1157	1029	979	-	674
1982	1896	1439	1280	950	-	711

SOURCES: Gilbert Islands and Kiribati M.E.T.C. Yearly reports and Digest of Education Statistics.

The table above shows the enrolments in upper primary and secondary classes in the late 1970's and early 1980's. The increasing numbers in upper primary classes and the non-government C.H.S. is obvious, reflecting the continued demand for post-primary schooling, while the secondary high school places remain relatively constant.

A curriculum development project run jointly by the Institute of Education at the University of the South Pacific and the South Australian College of Advanced Education, and sponsored by the Australian Development Assistance Bureau, is currently reviewing the Class 8 and 9 curriculum, aiming at a general education, with emphasis for the students' environment and island life. Consolidation of upper primary schools continues, and an aid project is placing resource materials at larger primary schools, which should operate as both resource and teacher centres on each island. Thus the trend appears to be to larger primary schools with upper primary classes using a revised curriculum, acting as local education centres. It may only be a short step before an island allocates one school to Upper Primary. In other words, Kiribati appears to be moving towards a system not dissimilar to that proposed in the late 1960's, and indeed not dissimilar to the modified C.H.S. model. One alternative mooted, though apparently not yet under serious discussion, is that K.G.V. become a senior school similar to the Catholic Senior college, both taking in from a range of "Upper Primary" or "Junior Secondary" schools. In Kiribati fashion, adaption and consensus appears to be achieving in the education system what reports, reviews and commissions could not - a resolution of the tensions inherent in educational change.

FOOTNOTES

1. Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony Department of Education (1971), *Historical background - Education in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony*, Tarawa: Roneoed. p.2.

2. Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony (1969), *Proceedings of the House of Representatives*, May, Tarawa: Government Printing Division.

3. Tregear, P.S. (1969), *A report on Educational Development in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands*, Tarawa: Government Printing Division.

4. Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony (1970), *1970-72 Development Plan*, Tarawa: Government Printing Division, p. 60.

5. Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony (1970), *Proceedings of the House of Representatives, February - March*, Tarawa: Government Printing Division, p. 97.

6. Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony Department of Education (1971), *Report on Symposium on Primary Education*, Tarawa Teachers College: Roneoed.

7. Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony (1971), *Development Plan 1971-73*, Tarawa: Government Printing Division, p. 47.

8. Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony (1971), *Legislative Council Official Report*, July, Tarawa: Government Printing Division, p. 65.

9. Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony (1973), *Development Plan 1973-1976*, Tarawa: Government Printing Division, p.4.

10. Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony (1972), *Legislative Council Official Report*, November - December, Tarawa: Government Printing Division.

11. Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony (1974), *Proceedings of the House of Assembly*, May, Tarawa: Government Printing Division, p. 30.

12. Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony Ministry of Education, Training and Culture (1976), *Report for 1975*, Tarawa: Government Printing Division, p.3.

13. Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony Ministry of Education, Training and Culture (1975), *Secondary Education - a discussion* paper, Tarawa : Roneoed, p. 1.

14. Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony Ministry of Education, Training and Culture (1974), Review of Education Development, Tarawa: M.E.T.C. File 10/1, p. 2.

15. Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony Ministry of Education, Training and Culture (1975), op. cit., p. 9.

16. Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony Ministry of Education, Training and Culture (1974), Minutes of Education Advisory Committee Meeting 19/12/74, Tarawa: M.E.T.C. File 10/1, p. 3.

17. Gilbert Islands Ministry of Education, Training and Culture (1977), Report for 1977, Tarawa: Government Printing Division, p. 8.

18. Love, R. (1982), Basic needs in Kiribati, Pacific Perspectives, Vol. 10, No. 2, 1982, p. 69.

19. Ibid, p. 68.

20. Gilbert Islands Ministry of Education, Training and Culture (1978), What do Community High Schools in the Gilbert Islands try to achieve? Tarawa: Roneoed.

21. Gilbert Islands (1978), Proceedings of the House of Assembly, September, Tarawa: Government Printing Division, p. 478.

22. Ibid, p. 3.

23. Kiribati (1979) National Development Plan 1979-1982, Tarawa: Government Printing Division, p. 19.

24. Ibid, p. 231.

25. Kiribati Ministry of Education, Training and Culture (1979) Community News, August, Tarawa: Roneoed.

26. Kiribati Ministry of Education, Training and Culture (1980), Community High School Evaluation Commission Report, Tarawa: Government Printing Division.

27. Tata, I. (1980), New policies for Classes 7, 8 and 9 in Kiribati primary schools. Directions, 5. pp. 26-34.

28. Teiwake, R. (1982), Interview at University of the South Pacific, 18/11/82.

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF SCHOOL INSPECTION IN NIGERIA

W.P. PALMER

BACKGROUND

I find the Study of school inspection in different countries interesting partly because it was my job for five years, but also because in the study of this topic one must look at the whole educational system of the country as well as the day to day work of the individual inspector. I find this in many ways similar to the way in which the chemist looks at chemical reactions on the "macro" and atomic levels in quick succession Bereday[2] comments on this change in focus pointing out the value of the 'wider angle of vision' whilst the knowledge of the typical type of interaction between the individual inspector and teacher gives direction to abstract ideas.

Nigeria is a large West African State about three times the size of the United Kingdom and a population probably in excess of 80 million. Comparatively few A.C.I.E.S. members would have had direct experience of Nigeria, but if members were suddenly transported there, they would find many features of the Education System familiar to them. The reason for this is that the Nigerian educational system is largely a legacy of the British Colonial system, which until recently had seemed almost immune to change. The implementation of Universal Primary Education throughout Nigeria in April, 1975 was followed in 1977 by the announcement of a new educational plan[3].

The policies laid down in the document are being implemented and the landmarks of the colonial educational structure such as the five year secondary course leading to School Certificate are gradually changing.

For descriptions of the system as it wa s A.C.I.E.S members will find books by L.J. Lewis[4] and Babs Fafunwa[5] very helpful but they are both now somewhat dated. Bray's[6] book and the book by Ozigi and Ocho[7] both deal largely with the

North of Nigeria but do also give a more recent overall perspective.

SCHOOL INSPECTION IN NIGERIA IN THE REGIONS 1954-1967

In Nigeria some school inspectors have been civil servants, visiting schools in order to determine the amount of the government grant, whilst others have been missionaries attempting to assess the quality of the religious education given. Both types of Inspector have been familiar to Nigerians since 1980 or even earlier in the case of the missionary supervisors.

However, organised inspectorates whose inspectors act as a team to perform their five-fold role are a more recent innovation. This role, described by Palmer[8] is that of fact finding, assessment, giving advice, motivating and inspiring teachers, and carrying out administrative duties.

In 1954 Nigeria was given a new constitution which divided Nigeria into three regions, the Northern Region, the Western Region, and the Eastern Region each of which was responsible for Education in its own area. The Western Region Government which had education as a top priority, introduced Free Universal Primary Education(UPE), promulgated laws which were very similar to the 1944 Education Act(UK), and for the supervision of the education system founded an inspectorate in 1956 which was to be similar in function and prestige to that of Her Majesty's Inspectorate(UK). According to Burns[9] the Western Region inspectorate was the second modern inspectorate in Africa, the first being founded in Kenya in 1955. Details of the planning of UPE, and the creation and functioning of the Western Region Inspectorate can be found in the writings of Crookall[10], Herrington[11], and Thorburn[12]. What is remarkable about all these accounts in the sense of idealism which pervades them, and this idealism may have helped to overcome some of the tremendous problems which the rapidly expanding educational system faced. The Inspectorate policy as described by Herrington[13] was to encourage inspectors to be the teachers' "guides, counsellors and friends" with the emphasis being on an advisory role for inspectors. This is remarkable in a country where the school inspector is usually considered a tyrant and a bully, typified by Solarin's[14] account of an elderly inspector who says "I have no patience for such schools, I simply close them". The Western Region inspectorate ran courses for teachers for some years and appeared to have been extremely active, but shortages of inspectors and an increasing school population must have taken their toll as Wheeler[15] sees the ineffectiveness of the inspectorate as one of the reasons for the lowering of educational standards in the early 60s.

The Eastern Region Government faced similar problems with Free Universal Primary Education and had to reintroduce primary school fees after only a year of operation of the system. Wheeler[16] points out that its inspectorate seems to have been ineffective due to the inspectors' functions being divided between the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Local Government with some supervision also being carried out by the Missions.

According to Burns[17] a separate inspection division was established. This re-organisation could not have been very effective as the inspectorate gets considerable criticism in the Dike[18] Report.

In 1963 a new region, the Mid-West Region, was created out of the Western Region with its own Ministry of Education and its own inspectorate division.

The inspectorate in Northern Nigeria was formed as a result of the Oldman Report[19] which recommended that primary schools should be administered by local education authorities (l.e.a.s.) and that primary inspection should be organised on a provincial basis, whilst secondary school organisation and inspection should be centralised at Kaduna. The inception and mode of working of this inspectorate are carefully described by Jones.[20] The Northern Region Inspectorate seems to have been extremely active during its short life (1962 - 67). Twenty-five formal school inspections were completed each year, and a number of useful pamphlets were written.

In addition to the four regional inspectorates, there was also the Federal Advisory Service which started as an inspectorate in 1954, but whose functions eventually became entirely administrative. Burns[21] mentions that it carried out joint inspections with the Eastern Region Inspectorate, whilst Jones[22] points out the high degree of co-operation achieved between the Northern Region Inspectorate and the Federal Advisory Service. Awokoya[23] states that the influence of the Federal Advisory Service was extremely limited whilst acting in an inspectoral capacity, particularly prior to 1967, so that on occasions Federal Advisers were even banned for visiting certain schools.

THE CREATION OF STATES AND CURRENT EDUCATIONAL LAW

In May 1967 the former Eastern Region declared itself the Independent Republic of Biafra and it was only re-integrated as part of the Federation of Nigeria after the collapse of the Republic in January 1970 as the result of a bitter and bloody civil war. At the same time as the Eastern Region seceded, the Federal Government created twelve states each of which has now developed its own educational system. Eight years later in April, 1975 a further seven states were created by splitting up some of the large states, so that there are now (1983) a total of nineteen separate states.

One of the problems which inspectors face is of inappropriate, outdated or non-existant education law. There were few occassions where this was of significance in practice, but for example inspectors still do not appear to have right of entry into schools. An explanation of why the laws were so unclear is that between 1960 and 1967 each region set up one or more commissions to examine its educational system. The regions then revised their educational law(which was usually still based on the 1948 Educational Ordinance) in the light of the recommendations of the commissions. In spite of all the development since the mid-60s current educational laws are often still based, in many states, on the former Educational Law of the Regions. Thus there is now a complex mixture of Education Laws throughout the country sometimes based on the laws of the Regions from 1960-67, sometimes on the laws of the larger states of 1967-1975 and sometimes on legislation relevant to the needs of the individual states after 1975. Taiwo[24] argues cogently for a Federal Edict on which State Edicts would then be based, so that individual states could make minor modifications to suit their circumstances within a general pattern common to all states. To date no such law has been promulgated.

PATTERNS OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

Taiwo[25] also points out that two basic patterns of educational administration can be traced, though many variations on the theme have developed. These two basic patterns are identifiable with the two sources of the Nigerian educational system, dating back to the early years of this century when the South and North of Nigeria had separate administrations, as has been indicated by Williams.[26]

The states which were in the former Northern Region, where the Ministry of Education has always had relatively greater powers than in the South, have tended to keep their systems little changed. Traditionally in this system the Ministry retained the responsibility for secondary education, while the local education authorities were responsible for primary education. Bray[27] states that the local government reforms of 1978 onwards have increased the power of the local education authorities, so that they now bear the financial burden of Primary Education.

The Southern States, carved from the Western, Mid Western & Eastern Regions have usually created School Boards whose composition and function vary from state to state but whose primary function is to be the manager of the schools. It is now the pattern in the south of the country for there to be a State Ministry of Education, a State School Board, a Teaching Service Commission and an office of the Federal Inspectorate of Education. Within each Ministry of Education there will usually be separate Inspectorate & Administrative Divisions. Lines of authority are not always clearly drawn and Nwankwo[28] points out that there is ample room for conflict and muddle between the various educational bodies.

THE FEDERAL INSPECTORATE

The power of the Federal Government was very limited in all fields including education prior to 1967 when Nigeria was a loose federation of powerful and autonomous regions, but after the creation of states in 1967, the power of the Federal Government relative to the states has increased remarkably.

The increase in federal power has only been made possible by the availability of finance from oil revenues, as explained by Offensend[29]. The picture of the condition of State Administrations, well described in several articles in the Quarterly Journal of Administration (January 1976), in the early 70s, is of twelve comparatively new administrations facing difficulties of finance, war damage, manpower shortages, and struggling to bring the benefits of modern government "closer to the people". Such administrations were on the whole prepared to look for leadership, finance and expertise from the Federal Government.

There is little published information on the difficulties which each of the new state governments had in creating effective administrations in the field of education and this is certainly a promising area for research. There has thus been a change in the structure of Nigeria from that of a "loose federation" to that of "Federal Supremacy", which has taken place during a period of military rule. Adebayo[30] has somewhat humorously described some of the decision making processes used by the military rulers, which are basically dictatorial, but which probably had a wide measure of acceptance.

In the sphere of education the Federal Ministry of Education has achieved its dominant position in a number of ways which include providing finance and manpower for state projects, taking over responsibility for the running of existing institutions, and creating new organisations and institutions. One of the new institutions created was a Federal Inspectorate of Education, a body whose inception was suggested as long ago as 1951 but which actually started in April, 1973.

The formation, functions, and policies of the Federal Inspectorate have been described by Palmer[31] but it may be appropriate to point out that unlike any other previous inspectorate in Nigeria all initial inspectors received two months training, and all inspectors joining since the inception have had individual training plans worked out for them.

Relationships between Federal and State Inspectors have in general been good. Joint Conferences are held regularly. Federal inspectors have been invited to join teams of state inspectors and state inspectors have been invited to join Federal Inspections. Nonetheless, Federal and State Inspectors have different roles, with Federal Inspectors being less involved in administration and more involved with evaluation in the classroom. For example, the Interim Guidelines to Federal Inspection[32] stated that "The Federal Inspectors should be constantly in the classroom evaluating and assisting the classroom process". Federal Inspectors advise both State & Federal Ministries of Education, that is they advise management at two levels whilst State Inspectors advise only the State Ministries of Education. This is a similar comparison to that made by Kogan[33] of H.M.I. and l.e.a advisers in the United Kingdom.

The Federal Inspectorate started with a modern and realistic approach to school inspection, through careful training. It has in its early years achieved much by the encouragement and quiet persuasion of colleagues in the state inspectorates, to move them from a traditional to a modern role, as predicted by Baddeley[34] in his advice to Federal Inspectors at the start of the new inspectorate.

Birchenough[35] said that the greatest service that anyone can do is "to increase the vitality of others". This the Federal Inspectorate can claim to have done. Outside observers such as Thomas[36] have commented favourably on the system of school inspection in Nigeria, but there are still many improvements to be made particularly in the areas of primary education, curriculum development and In-service Education.

The relationship between the Federal Inspectorate and the Federal Ministry of Education, of which the Federal Inspectorate is a division, may also be of interest. It has been the policy of the Inspectorate since its inception to remain slightly separated, perhaps even aloof, from the Federal Ministry of Education. This is apparent in the provision of separate buildings, and separate titles for inspectors. In these and in many other minor issues the Federal Inspectorate's distinctive role has been emphasised. The policy of emphasising the inspectorates' independence has had both advantages and disadvantages. On the positive side the sudden transfer of inspectors to administrative or teaching posts has been successfully resisted as has the appointment of raw untrained recruits as inspectors. Such incidents have in the past been a frequent cause of a lack of quality in some state inspectorates. Also since the Federal Inspectorate inspects schools owned and run by the Federal Ministry of Education a degree of separateness to ensure impartiality was felt to be essential. Nonetheless the separation has caused problems of communication which have meant that the Federal Inspectorate has often not been successful in influencing Ministry policy and has sometimes not even known what Ministry policies were. In 1981 a fire at the Ministry Headquarters in Lagos has meant that much of the work of the Ministry of Education is now carried out at the former Federal Inspectorate Headquarters. It is possible that this very unfortunate accident may in fact promote greater integration.

CONCLUSION

There are obvious comparisons between the roles of Federal and State Inspectors in Nigeria and the roles of H.M.I.s and l.e.a. advisors in the United Kingdom. With regard to research in this area Welton[37] has recently pointed out the lack of research being carried out on the work and the effectiveness of H.M.Is and the limited amount of research being carried out the work of l.e.a. advisors. In this he is absolutely correct but in Nigeria(to the author's knowledge) there is no current research on the work of either state or federal inspectors. Indeed there are few references even to the existence of either. For the Federal Inspectorate the following references have been found outside inspectorate conference reports and internal memoranda Adamolekun[38], Lyons and Pritchard[39], Thomas[40] and the Federal Ministry of Education[41]. There are a number of references to the work of the regional inspectors in the mid-sixties but few give details of the work of either state or regional inspectors.

I thus conclude that there is a great deal of research to be done in the field of comparative educational administration and in particular to learn more about how different countries go about the task of school inspection. I believe that such comparisons will improve the practice of educational administration and hence the whole educational systems of countries.

1. (a) Palmer,W.P. "School Inspection in Nigeria since the Creation of States, 1967 - 1980" To be published in a future issue of Studies in Educational Administration.

1 (b) Palmer,W.P. "A Brief History of the Federal Inspectorate of Education in Nigeria as an Example of the Growth of Federal Power" Article to be published, West African Journal of Education, Vol.24, No.1,1983.

2 Bereday, G.Z.F "Comparative Analysis in Education, Prospects, Vol.VII,No.4 1977, pp.472-487.

3. Federal Republic of Nigeria. National Policy on Education Federal Ministry of Information, Printing Division, Lagos (1977)

4. Lewis, L.J., Society, Schools and Progress in Nigeria, Pergamon Press (1965)

5. Fafunwa, A.Babs, History of Education in Nigeria (George Allen & Unwin) 1974)

6. Bray, M. Universal Primary Education in Nigeria - A Study of Kano State Routledge and Kegan Paul, London (1981)

7. Ozigi, A and Ocho, L. Education in Northern Nigeria, George Allen & Unwin, London, (1981)

8. Palmer, W.P. The Changing Role of the Inspectorate: British & Nigerian Perspectives, Unpublished MSc Thesis. University of Oxford, Department of Education Studies, p.50

9. Burns, Donald G. African Education. An Introductory Survey of Education in Commonwealth Countries, Oxford University Press, London (1965)

10. Crookall, RE "Universal Education in Western Nigeria", Overseas Education Vol.XXX April, 1958 pp.3-11.

11. Herrington, J.O.A. "Problems of the Inspectorate in Western Nigeria" Oversea Education, Vol.No.4 January, 1959, pp.176-180

12. Thorburn, J.W.A. Manuscripts describing planning of Western Region Inspectorate. These are available at Rhodes House, Oxford.

13. Herrington, J.O.A. op cit, p.178

14. Solarin, Dr.T. "The School Inspector as I see Him", Address to Federal and State Inspectors of Education at the Joint Conference of Inspectors, Benin (1976).

15. Wheeler, A.C.R. "The Organisation of Educational Planning in Nigeria", from The Planning Process (African Research Series II EP) 1979

16. Wheeler, A.C.R. op cit

17. Burns, D.G. op cit p.175

18. Report on the Review of the Educational System of Eastern Nigeria, (Ministry of Education), Enugle, 1962).

19. Oldman Report The Administration of Primary Education, (Ministry of Education, Kaduna, 1961)

20. Jones, V. "Subject Inspecting in Northern Nigeria: An Introductory Survey of its Background and Organisation, Teacher Education, Vol, 8 No.3 (1968) pp.229-239.

21. Burns, D.G. op cit

22. Jones, V. op cit

23. Awokoya, S.O. "The Structure and Development of Nigerian Education" from Manpower Problems and Economic Development in Nigeria, ed Yesufu, T.M. (Oxford University Press).

24. Taiwo, C.O. "The Education Edicts of Nigeria," West African Journal of Education, Vol. XVIII, No.2. 1974 p.187

25. Taiwo C.O. "The Administration and Control of Education in West Africa". West African Journal of Education, Feb. 1972, p.8

26. Williams, G.A. "Education and Government in Northern Nigeria", Presence Africiaine, No.87, 1973, pp.156-177

27. Bray, M. op cit p.102

28. Nwankwo, J.I. " The Gap between Planning and Implementation in Nigerian Education" Prospects, Vol. X, No.2. 1980 pp.221-233

29. Offensend, D.E. "Centralisation of Fiscal Arrangements in Nigeria". Journal of Modern African Studies.

Vol. 14 No.3 September, 1976, p.507

30. Adebayo, Augustus, "Policy Making in Nigerian Public Administration 1960 - 75". Journal of Administration Overseas, Vol.XVIII No.1, p.13

31. Palmer, W.P. (1983) op cit

32. Interim Guidelines to Federal Inspectors, (Section 12)

Published by Federal Inspectorate Service
Federal Ministry of Education, Nigeria (12 Nov.1972)

33. Kogan, M. "Administrative Relationship between the School and Outside Institutions", Chapter III Creativity of the School (C.E.R.I)... 1973, Estoril, Portugal p.56

34 Baddeley, A.B. "The Modern Inspector" Paper given at 1973 Training Course for Federal Inspectors at Ibadan University.

35. Birchenough, G. "Inspectors and Organisers in the Educational System". Education, 14 Feb. 1947, p.313

36. Thomas, R. "Giving Nigeria a Universal Primary Education," New African, November, 1977 p.1121

37. Welton, J. "Accountability (part 2), Educational Administration, Volume 9, No.3.

38. Adamolekun, L. "Postscripts in developments in Nigerian Administration" in Studies in Nigerian Administration, ed Murray, D.J. (Hutchisons) p.313

39. Lyons, R.F. and Pritchard, M.W. Primary School Inspection
A Supporting Service for Education
IIEP, Paris, p.84

40. Thomas, R. op cit

41. National Policy on Education, op cit, p.31

SECTION THREE

COLONIALISM AND EDUCATION: HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVES

SEA CHANGE: BRITISH MODELS AND COLONIAL MODIFICATIONS IN HIGHER EDUCATION[1]

DAVID R. JONES

Call it colonialism, cultural imperialism, or foreign aid, the transmission of educational models and ideas from Europe and the United States to the rest of the world is a part of the 19th and 20th centuries.

However, such institutions cannot be exported *en bloc*, nor can ideas be inscribed on a *tabula rasa*. The "exporter" chooses some portion of the totality of his educational system and ideas for transmission; time, distance, and the transport process effect a further filtering and selection; and the "importer" must modify the goods to suit and to sell. The results are often so important for education and for new or developing countries generally that it is worth trying to elucidate the process in some detail.

Any analysis of the adoption and adaptation of foreign models must answer two pairs of basic questions: what changes were made in the model, why were they made, and, on the other hand, what were and what maintained the similarities between exemplar and copy. Unfortunately, an admittedly cursory inspection of some of the literature on cultural communication and transfer did not provide a model or mode of analysis adequate for understanding the export of institutions and systems of higher education. Most methods seek either to elucidate the vicissitudes and consequences of transporting a single idea or cultural artifact, or study the various ideas and artifacts which produced a single consequence. Educational institutions, and especially universities, represent such a complexity of inputs, processes, outcomes, and purposes that the analytical precision of communications theory, for example, seems unattainable. As an alternative I have tried to distill a method of study by means of simplification and the culling of seemingly relevant portions of both analytical and descriptive studies of the transmission of culture.[2] Such varied sources as Goodwin and Holley's drastic simplification of communications theory for historians, Deutsch's sensitive appreciation of the pressures placed on those who would adopt or adapt parts of a foreign culture,[3] and ideas like that of the servo-mechanism or "feedback" in cultural transfer all play their hopefully congruent parts in what follows.

There are at least two useful ways of categorizing the forces and circumstances which produce modifications or scrupulous imitation when higher education is exported/imported. The first considers the geographical placement and temporal order of the forces, dividing them into those within the country of origin, those exerted during transport, and those within the recipient country. This method is the more useful for creating a narrative as well as analytical account of past events and processes; that is, for historical purposes.

Before going on to apply this method a word about the other may be of interest. Forces producing modification or maintenance may be divided into those resulting from circumstances and those resulting from volition. Different languages, economies, or geography are circumstances. A determination to pick and choose or to modify to suit local demands is an act of volition. For those seeking suggestions, prescriptions, or policy this method of categorization and analysis should be fruitful.

In studying significant events like the transplantation of educational systems it is both easiest and most fruitful to examine the export of widely influential models. At the same time the may subtleties of a process like adaptation are perhaps best seen in a case where both the forces producing modification and the resultant changes are modest. The choice of Britain as exporter, and of Australia as recipient, fulfill both these requirements.

As with textiles and iron, Britain was the great 19th Century exporter of education, and while Germany, France, and the United States competed in this as in other fields, British education continued in the 20th Century to dominate markets in which some of her more mundane products had been superseded. The Empire and Commonwealth did not mark the limits of her educational influence, but even if they had, they would have represented perhaps the greatest mass of educational exports in history.

Australia was perhaps the most receptive of colonies. It lacked the forces likely to lead to drastic modification of cultural imports. There was no mass of pre-colonial population to be considered. Educators did not face the problems of primitive culture and language, almost total want of capital, and paucity of educated Britons as models, which were encountered in Africa. Nor did they have to resist the weight of massively entrenched non-Western cultures, such as has perplexed the East India Company and its imperial and indigenous successors since before Macaulay's famous Minute,[6] or such as was represented by the institutional and cultural continuity of Islamic education in Egypt and elsewhere. And of course there was nothing like the active resistance or deliberate selectivity which limited the extent of British influence in quasi or non Imperial places like China and Japan.[5]

Even among the "White Dominions" Australia (and New Zealand) were peculiarly receptive to uncontested British influence. Canada and South Africa were each in their different ways multicultural societies looking to Continental as well as British traditions, while in the former British influence also contested the field with an increasingly massive and always propinquitous alternative model from the south. The population, language and culture of the Antipodes were far more British than those of India or Africa or the Carribean; they were furthest removed from competing external influences as well. Yet, as every traveller could see, Australia, like all other colonies or Dominions, was not Britain. Physical conditions were exotic, social structure was simplified, the economy very different, history short, assumptions and desires often those of a "new world". Britain was also a long and difficult journey away. And besides, what do we mean by Britain when we make comparisons? Whose Britain? What part of it? Which institutions and ideas?

Narrowing the question down to what we mean by British higher education does not help much; it was always complex and various. If we further limit the question to the dates c. 1850-c. 1930, the founding era of so many colonial universities, the variety and complexity still remain almost infinite. Britain was undergoing its greatest educational revolution since Tudor times, and in terms of numbers affected and variety of innovations this new revolution was far greater. In the absence of time for discussion, even a mere selective list of important events in British higher education 1850-1930 is suggestive.[6] The ancient universities of England, Scotland, and Ireland were reformed and grew enormously. London University established itself as both unique and influential; schools like the LSE and arrangements like the external degree and affiliation spread its influence throughout the Empire. New universities appeared in varied forms, from the imitative antiquity of Durham through the small civic foundations which became "redbrick" universities, to the federated colleges of Wales and the Queen's University of Ireland. Not only did the curriculum of these schools broaden, but new institutions were created to teach subjects excluded from universities for one reason or another. And the articulation of all these new and growing institutions with society (their sources of students and support, methods of governance, the places for which they prepared, etc) increased proportionately in complexity.

Obviously from such a mass of diverse examples no one could have expected to export a representative or entire British model. England sent out non-perishable and easily portable bits of its many models; colonies like Australia asked for the bits they wanted. Their demands were not consistant, of course. Even in the 1850s Sydney thought it wanted Oxbridge men to build a little Oxbridge, while Melbourne took a broader view. By and large, however, Australia in the period under review, especially in the 19th Century, made only the general decision that it wanted to import the most prestigious models available, and more particular decisions as to which subjects from British curricula were most necessary and suitable for Australia. Details were left to British academics who chose professors, books, etc. (see below). New Zealand's system of external examination or at least marking, meant an even more complete acceptance of British models and opinions. Most decisions about what parts of which models to export were made or agreed upon at "home". The parts were then shipped in the form of men, materials, and the ideas contained in both.

There were several important constraints upon the transport process. Delay and wasted time, inconvenience, expense, and, at least in the early years, risk, were all parts of the "tyranny of distance". One result was selectivity: the enhanced cost of apparatus, books, and men meant that Australian university budgets did not go as far as others, and they could not range as widely. Another result was a tendency toward obsolescence: faculty members tended to rely on old memories rather than frequently refreshed experience of "home" models and new trends; making do was a necessity in labs and libraries. Difficulties of transport also tended to produce a system of indirect transmission of ideas, demands, etc, with all the likelihood of misunderstanding that this implies. An obvious example in the 19th and early 20th Century was the method of selecting faculty. An Australian committee asked an English committee to interview candidates and often to actually select one. At the English end an Australian politician, diplomat, businessman or other visitor might be asked to advise. The selection committee inevitably mingled the expressed desires of Australia with their own impressions of who and what was needed. Perhaps the most surprising thing is that the results of this process were often satisfactory!

Transport and communication processes improved with time. By 1900 the telegraph, regular mail, and efficient steamships had eliminated much of the uncertainty of an earlier era. Greater clarity of communication and ease of transport could enhance the influence of models from the cultural metropole; it could also make alternative, competing models visible. When barriers were high all around, only the privileged and obligated Imperial metropole made the necessary effort to maintain contact with the Antipodes, except in exceptional circumstances like the gold rushes. The practical barriers fell at a time when the cultural as well as economic weight of another English-speaking power, the United States, was growing. But in fact British influences long retained their virtual monopoly; Serle's comment on the extraordinary weakness of American influence before the end of World War II is certainly true of education.[6] The question of why this was so deserves a paper of its own.[8]

The primary means of transporting British models was people. To some extent British models had already arrived in Australia before there was any serious intention to establish universities there. When government officials, professional men, and prominent local leaders like Wentworth and Barry began to create universities, they had their own past experience in mind. Senates of ad eundem degree holders[9] added their memories of past experience at "home". Obviously such persons represented the influence of a model somewhat outdated, fragmentary, and originally seen through the eyes of students and laymen.

Academics, with their different, if not clearer, view of British models, became the main carrier of British influences once the universities were established. In many ways they were a homogeneous group: young on arrival, male, and British, they held their chairs for long periods and shaped their departments, if not entire universities, to suit them.[10] It seems safe to assume that, particularly in the 19th Century, they tended to be at least moderately adventurous and not unduly wedded to the more conservative British forms.[11] Many brought experience of the great movements of academic reform and innovation in Britain. Certainly 19th Century professor found themselves to the academic left of university councils and other local opinion.

On the other hand, they were obviously not an undifferentiated mass. Their British experience could mean very different things, as is obvious if we compare the cultural baggage of an Englishman educated at Oxford in the 1850s with that of an Irishman educated at Belfast and Manchester in the 1920s. And the range of experience and models available at one time broadened as the number and variety of British institutions grew. Of the 26 Arts and Sciences professors of 1900, 10 had experience beyond Oxbridge or Scotland, in London, Ireland, or the new civic universities.

Perhaps the results of further study of academics as carriers of academic models will be proportional to the specificity of the enquiries. To look at British-trained professors tells us something in a general way. Looking at, say, Cambridge-trained professors might tell us more. Discovering why and with what results 6 St John's men (including 4 Fellows of whom 2 had been Senior Wranglers), 5 Trinity men and only one other Cantabridgian had held Australian Arts and Science chairs by 1900 should prove most interesting; I intend to travel this road at the first opportunity.

Of the many lesser modes of transport at least 3 were of some importance. Almost all books, text, reference, and general, came from Britain, bringing the language, methods of thought, etc., of British academia. The "Blue Books" of parliamentary committees and Royal Commissions provided insight into both the problems and new promises of British higher education; they were cited by councellors, professors, etc. in the Australian universities. Examinations, either direct from Britain or in scrupulous imitation of tests such as the Oxford and Cambridge "middle class examinations" also had their influence, as did the desire of colonial candidates to pass exams held in Britain. Professional examinations were particularly important in this regard. The demands of professional qualification and association and the attempts at Empire-wide reciprocity of recognition formed a complex and continuing source of British influence and British models.

On arrival in a new country a model of a university looks rather like a house in transit, with the severed pipes and wires exposed to view. As is, it can provide a roof over someone's head, but little else. To fulfill its functions again it must be placed on well dug foundations and connected to appropriate utilities. If, like so many 19th Century Australian buildings, it is simply set on a slab and expected to create its own utilities it may survive, but it will not flourish.

The environment in which the new institution will either languish or flourish is compounded of circumstances and attitudes. The former include geography, population and wealth and their distribution, etc. The latter include ideas about charity and the use of wealth, respect for learning or the reverse, the perceived place of the state or church, etc. The system of previous or other education into which the university must fit is a product of both.

Understanding the forces in the new environment favouring adoption, adaptation, or rejection therefore means studying much of a country's history, and a great deal of what makes it unique. Whether a standardized method of analysing such complexity can be developed seems doubtful. In any case it must arise, if at all, out of several case studies, and I can only begin with the first, Australia.[12] To further simplify matters, and to provide a manageable example, the rest of this paper deals with the supposedly great influence of Scottish models on Australian universities, and further confines itself to the years 1850-1930.

It is easy to hear the myth of the Scottish model recounted in its usual form. Simply mention to two or three academics that you are studying British influences on Australian universities, and at least one will say "Of course, the Scottish universities were most influential", or words to that effect. Asked to elaborate, they will refer to a teaching professoriate and a diverse curriculum. Pressed for further detail, they may mention Scottish-trained professors, speak vaguely of a democratic outlook, or point to such other features as seem similar to 19th and/or 20th century Scottish institutions.

Professorial teaching and diverse curriculum were not unique to Scotland, but such references are reminders that much of Australian academia has long looked exclusively towards Oxbridge; an academically narrowed version of the cultural cringe. A teaching professoriate was the norm throughout much of the Western world. If there was something peculiarly Scottish about the curriculum it was not simply variety of subjects, which was growing in the later 19th Century in such diverse places as London, Harvard, Tokyo, etc. And, as Davie's analysis of the Scottish curriculum[13] makes clear, it was obviously not the model for Australian universities. The Scottish arts degree, at least until the 1890s, was based on a logical progression of 7 or 8 prescribed subjects culminating in philosophy, which also permeated the other subjects and served to integrate the curriculum. No such logic or integration marked the Australian curriculum, especially after the uniform compulsory syllabus disappeared in the 1870s.[14]

Though the image of the mythmakers is neither entirely accurate nor uniquely Scottish, there were several truly distinctive features of the Scottish model. It was very cheap. As both cause and consequence of this it was "a system of education aimed at the common man, not the aristocrat, not the leader, not even the professional".[15] Its frequently stated purpose was to create a thoughtful, reflective man. The proportion of the population attending university was extraordinarily high. Perhaps most important, the universities were a thoroughly integrated part of Scottish society: "...the public as a whole were readier than in England to regard the universities as within the circle of their lives."[16]

This model was, however, neither uniform, clear, nor entirely appealing in the era (c.1850-c.1930) when it might have been expected to have the greatest effect on new and malleable Australian institutions. Any influence of the unreformed St Andrews of the 1870s would be vastly different from that of Edinburgh or even Aberdeen then, much less that of the Glasgow of 1920. Parts of the model would be seen in the unfavourable light of Scottish and English critics who included Buckle and Mill, as well as that of influential "Blue Books" notably those of the Royal Commission of 1889. Very low admission standards and first year work, necessary to an egalitarian and democratic policy in the absence of uniformly good secondary education, were unattractive to many. The administration and finances of Scottish universities were clearly not deserving of imitation.

Furthermore, the Scottish model was losing its distinctiveness. Davie chronicles the growth of Anglicizing trends in 19th Century academic and government circles. Specialization and honours degrees began to replace the cultivation of the "democratic intellect". In the 20th Century Scottish academic staff were increasingly, sometimes almost exclusively, drawn from Oxbridge, though they were often Scots by birth and early training.[17] This is, of course, a recruitment pattern not unlike the one developed in 20th Century Australia of local university, Oxbridge, and then home again, but this parallel is hardly what those who repeat the myth of the Scottish model mean by influence.

(Parallel development is often mistaken for influence in the history of education. Low age of admission and elementary work in universities were the similar consequences of similar conditions in

19th Century Scotland, Australia, and the United States for that matter. In the 20th Century both Scotland and Australia placed increased emphasis on honours degrees after the English fashion; the fact that each achieved far lower percentages of honours degrees than England is hardly a demonstration of influence. A vaguer sense of Scottish/Australian similarity is largely based on contemporary comparisons; the Scots have become more like the English while the Australians have recently adapted to democratic demands rather like those long extant in Scotland.)

In any case, no model can be exported *in toto*. For example, one of the most distinctive features of the Scottish model was its sheer antiquity; this could not be reproduced, but the *traditional* links between Scottish communities, Scottish thought, and Scottish universities were vital to the effective functioning of the Scottish model.

The Scottish model was thus hard to find, even *in situ*. Transporting it was equally difficult. The myth sees professors as the carriers of the tradition. Auchmuty and Jeffares noted that England and Ireland staffed the first Australian universities but assumed that nevertheless "Scottish spirit and practice...were in many ways to prevail."[18] If so, it was not the result of a growing preponderance of Scotsmen. The Australian Arts and Sciences professoriate possessed only one Scottish graduate in 1855 and 1875, and by 1900 there were only 6 among the 36 with British degrees. By 1925 the number had only climbed to 7 among an increasingly numerous and cosmopolitan, but also increasingly native group. In addition, the competing English models were being carried by many more professors. The proportion of professors with Oxbridge degrees never fell below 50% in the first 75 years of Australian universities, while Irish graduates were followed by men from the newer English universities in the 20th Century.[19]

Other methods of transport besides professors were unlikely to contribute to a balance of influences favourable to Scotland. Books and journalism tended to be critical if not condemnatory, as noted above. Links through exams, professional requirements and associations, scholarships, etc., tended to be connections with England.

Limited numbers of men, books, etc., could only supply some pieces of a Scottish model which was both uncertain and already edited at the source. Then, when the attenuated model arrived, the climate and soil proved indifferent if not hostile. The essence of any university system lies in its links with the surrounding society, and Australian society was likely to wreak havoc upon whatever parts of the Scottish model did arrive.

The obvious prerequisite of widespread secondary education was missing. What with parish, burgh, and various endowed schools, the Angyll Commission (1864-5) found a greater proportion of Scots (1 in 205) undergoing some form of secondary schooling than in any other nation in Europe.[20] Similar proportions would not obtain in Australia for decades to come.

Opportunities were also substantially different in Australia. Both those available and those lacking reduced the demand for, and popularitiy of higher education. Positively, more options were probably open to the 19th and early 20th Century Australian than to the Scot, and less of these demanded higher education. For the Scottish lad land was unavailable and labour over-supplied, while Dr Johnson's high road to England required or at least rewarded the well-educated.

Negatively, opportunities for higher education were comparatively circumscribed in Australia. The distribution of Scottish universities and the scale of the country gave all but Western Highlanders and a few islanders easy access to a university, a situation which cannot be said to obtain in Australia today. University education was also comparatively cheap in Scotland. Fees were even lower than those in Australia (with the exception of Western Australia, of course), cheap room and board were available, and a tradition of respectable academic poverty removed the threat of social stigma.[21] Bursaries were also available in large numbers, and the 20th Century saw the creation of a massive Carnegie Trust endowment (itself symptomatic of the difference between Scottish and Australian circumstances and attitudes toward education and wealth; this gift alone probably surpassed all 19th Century Australian educational philanthropy) which paid the fees of thousands of students.

In such physical and economic circumstances there was little hope of achieving Scottish attendance figures, or the attitudes which helped to produce and maintain them. Social and psychological supports were also missing. The model of the university educated man, to be found in almost every Scottish village and all towns in the shape of the minister, was not widely available in Australia. Education was not only more widespread in Scotland, its teachers were also more likely to provide links (of encouragement, emulation, etc.) between young students and the universities. While the statistics are imprecise, it seems certain that at least half the higher schools of late 19th Century Scotland had university educated teachers;[22] by 1901 22% of the masters in public elementary schools were graduates.[23] The contrast with Australian conditions is obvious.

In addition to their familiarity with higher education university educated teachers and preachers must have had a further effect on educational ambitions outside the cities. The rural or small town lad could envision a respected place for himself if he returned home as a university educated man, where the Australian saw almost inevitable transplantation to the city; even as a lawyer or doctor there was little prestige in rural practice.

All these circumstances kept the Australian universities small as well as unreceptive of the Scottish model. And this very smallness made them less Scottish. Glasgow and Edinburgh already had thousands of students in the 19th Century. Even 19th Century Aberdeen was larger than any, or for many years all, Australian universities, and it certainly absorbed a vastly greater percentage of the local population. This size contributed to an essential character of Scottish universities which was unattainable in Australia. It helped to make them cheap. It created an atmosphere compounded of camaraderie, competition, and emulation.

Even if something more closely resembling the Scottish model had been exported to Australia,[24] then, it might not have taken root. Indeed, the universities which were created in Australia out of an eclectic assortment of British models remained exotics in their new environment. But that is another story, or at least another viewpoint, which I shall take up at the ANZHES conference later this week.

Notes

1. This paper is part of a study of the influence of British models upon higher education in the Empire/Commonwealth which has been generously supported by the University of Melbourne. I wish to thank the members of the Centre for the Study of Higher Education, University of Melbourne, for their unfailing assistance, and to state categorically that they are in no way responsible for the errors and inadequacies of this paper.

2. Various helpful examples of such works include:
   Coleman, James S. Education and Political Development
   Princeton, 1965
   Geertz, Clifford (ed) Old Societies and New States
   New York, 1963
   Mathews, John Pengwerne Tradition in Exile
   Melbourne, 1962
   Smith, Alfred G. (ed) Communication and Culture
   New York, 1966
   I fear that these examples reveal both rampant eclecticism and the historian's tendency to take his social science two decades old.

3. Goodwin, C.D.W., and I.B. Holley (eds.) The Transfer of Ideas Durham, 1968, especially pp. 170-178.
   Deutsch, Karl W. Nationalism and Social Communication Boston, 1953.

4. India seems to be the ultimate instance of a country in which no one cultural influence can possibly prevail. At least two great non-European cultures and a multiplicity of languages compete with English language and British models, while a mass of illiterate poverty seems to render the efforts of all competing high cultures superficial.

5. An interesting discussion of the different limits of British cultural influences in different parts of the Commonwealth will be found in the last chapter, "A Varied Legacy", of Miller, J.D.B. Survey of Commonwealth Affairs 1953-1969 Oxford, 1974.

6. A good introductory survey with useful bibliography is Lawson, J. and Harold Silver, A Social History of Education in England London, 1973.

7. "Before the end of the Second World War the strength of the British link could be demonstrated by the extraordinary weakness of American influence - extraordinary, given the similarity of social values and historical experience. There were minimal economic links and few political...and only few minor technological and cultural influences, until the advent of mass culture...". Ch 1 by G. Serle in Preston, R. (ed.) Contemporary Australia: Studies in History, Politics and Economics Durham, 1969.

8. There was also a further likely effect of improved communication: it reduced the likelihood of indigenously developed alternatives to a foreign model. As with everything from industry to popular culture, imports became a more and more easily accessible alternative to local creative efforts.

9. Holders of almost any degree were encouraged to become ad eundem graduates of their local Australian university so that sufficient numbers could be enrolled so as to bring certain provisions of university charters into effect.

10. These generalizations about professors, and some of those below, derive from a prosopographical survey of the professors of Arts and Sciences in those Australian universities extant in 1855, 1875, 1900, and 1925. See my paper "Antecedents: The Origins of the Australian Professoriate", delivered at the 1982 ANZHES Annual Conference, for details.

11. Partridge has also suggested that they were mostly second or third rate, since the first rate would remain in the cultural metropole. Partridge, P.H., "Comment", in Wheelwright, E.L. (ed.) Higher Education in Australia Melbourne, 1965. This may well be true of the 20th Century, but in an era of religious tests, celibacy requirements, and small numbers of posts at "home" there would seem to have been at least a reasonable chance that 19th Century academics would be first class.

12. An interesting comparative analysis of environments' effect on imported education is Zain'uddin, Ailsa "England and Australia: National Education in Two Pluralist Societies" in Melbourne Studies in Education, 1961-2. Examinations of the impact of Australian environment on other cultural artifacts include Gregory, J.S. Church and State, Melbourne, 1973, Ch.1 and Goodwin, C.D.W. Economic Enquiry in Australia, Durham, 1966.

13. Davie, G.E. The Democratic Intellect Edinburgh, 1961.

14. The myth is reinforced when reference or example is mistaken for an influential model. When Nadel speaks of Wentworth's Select Committee "Taking the notion of an active teaching professoriate from Edinburgh and that of a secular university, affiliated with colleges, from London..." he means that these were convenient examples, useful for argument and discussion; this does not imply that the committee were unaware of other instances or unable to think of such things for themsleves. See Nadel, G. Australia's Colonial Culture. Melbourne, 1957.

15. Ashby, E. Any Person, Any Study N.Y., 1971. p.39.

16. Scotland, J. The History of Scottish Education, London, 1969. V.1, p.332.

17. Scotland, Scottish Education, v.II, p.162.

18. J.J. Auchmuty and A.N. Jeffares in Price, A.G., The Humanities in Australia, Sydney, 1959, p.17.

19. For the derivation of these figures see footnote 10 above. The absence of medical faculties undoubtedly results in an underepresentation of Scots.

20. Quoted and discussed in Scotland, Scottish Education, v.1, p.361.

21. The Scottish university was also located in the city centre, offering easy access for the local lower classes and convenient lodgings, unlike Sydney and Melbourne, which were deliberately

isolated from urban contamination. I owe this point to Gardner, W.J. Colonial Cap and Gown. Christchurch, 1979.

22. Scotland, Scottish Education, v.1, pp.191, 218.

23. Balfour, G. The Educational Systems of Great Britain and Ireland, Oxford, 1903, p.278.

24. I have concentrated on Australia, but the Scottish model apparently did not correspond to educational reality in New Zealand, either. See Gardner, Colonial Cap and Gown, pp.26-9.

THE SUNDAY SCHOOL BI-CENTENARY:
RAIKES CENTENARY CELEBRATION 1783-1983
A COLONIAL SALUTE

KELVIN GROSE

It is customary to celebrate the jubilee or centenary of the Sunday School Movement dating from 1780 when Robert Raikes was supposed to have founded the first Sunday school. It is clear that his was not the first; there is evidence that a number of Sunday Schools existed prior to 1780, in England, France, Italy and even in the American Colonies.[1] The year 1780 is therefore relatively meaningless.

William King, a woollen card-maker of Dursley, a village near Gloucester, formed a Sunday School in 1774 in his native town. His efforts failed for want of support, but he himself never lost faith in the idea.

King was on business in Painswick one Saturday and was informed there were two men to suffer death at Gloucester. Instead of returning home to Dursley his strong feeling led him to Gloucester to see whether he could spend the night talking with them — but the gaoler would not allow it. He spent the night in Gloucester and next morning called on Robert Raikes. They went for a walk and passed by the Island (one of the lowest parts of the City) where many boys were playing at different sports. King said to Raikes: "What a pity the Sabbath should be so desecrated!" To which Raikes replied: "How is it to be altered?" King said: "Sir, open a Sunday-School, as I have opened one at Dursley..." Raikes passed this idea on to the Reverend Thomas Stock, curate and later rector of St. John the Baptist Church in Gloucester.[2] And that was the origin of the Sunday School Movement — or at least one version of it. The received version is somewhat different. It is contained in a letter written by Robert Raikes dated 25 November 1783 and was in reply to a letter from Colonel Richard Townley, "a gentleman of Lancashire", who had written to the Mayor of Gloucester to request further information. Raikes's letter was sent by Townley to the *Gentleman's Magazine* who published it in June 1784.[3] So influential was this letter that it should be reproduced at length. It should be pointed out that Raikes was editor of the *Gloucester Journal* (founded by his father) and had first announced the success of the Gloucester Sunday Schools to his readers in a small paragraph in that newspaper on 3 November 1783. *It is this date we should celebrate.*

As Gregory put it, he found the practice local: he made it national.[4]

The beginning of the Sunday School scheme was, Raikes wrote to Townley in his letter, "entirely owing to accident." Some business leading him one morning into the suburbs of the City, where the lowest of the people (who were principally employed in the pin manufactory) chiefly lived, he was struck with concern at seeing a group of children, "wretchedly ragged", at play in the street. He asked an inhabitant whether those children belonged to that part of the town and lamented their misery and idleness. "Ah, Sir", said the woman to whom he was speaking, "could you take a view of this part of the town on a Sunday, you would be shocked indeed." For then the street was filled with multitudes of those wretches who, released on that day from employment, spent their time

> in noise and riot, playing at chuck, and cursing and swearing in a manner so horrid, as to convey to any serious mind an idea of hell, rather than any other place.[5]

They had a worthy clergyman, the woman went on, curate of their parish, who had put some of them to school

> but upon the sabbath, they are all given up to follow their inclinations without restraint, as their parents, totally abandoned themselves, have no idea of instilling into the minds of their children principles, to which they themselves are entire strangers.[6]

Raikes thought "this deplorable profanation of the sabbath" should be checked, and he asked the woman if there were any teachers in the neighbourhood. She directed him to four, to whom he applied and made an agreement with them to receive as many children as he should send on the next Sunday, whom they were to instruct in reading and in the church catechism. He agreed to pay them a shilling for the day's employment. The clergyman helped by promising to go around to the schools on a Sunday afternoon, to examine the progress that was made, and to enforce order and decorum among "such a set of little heathens". Such was the beginning of the plan, Raikes told Townley.[7]

A woman who lived in a lane where he had set up a Sunday School, told him some time ago, that the place was "quite a heaven upon Sundays" compared with what it used to be.[8]

On Sunday afternoons, Raikes continued, the mistresses took their scholars to Church, a place into which neither they nor their ancestors had ever before entered, with a view to the glory of God. But what was yet more extraordinary, within the last month, "these little ragga-muffins" had in great numbers taken it into their heads to frequent the early morning prayers, which were held every day at the Cathedral at 7 a.m. On the day he was writing he estimated there were nearly fifty children in attendance. They assembled at the house of one of the mistresses and walked before her to church "two and two" in as much order as soldiers. He was generally at church, and after the service they came round to him to make their bow, or make complaints. The mistresses told him the children were much afraid of his displeasure.[9] The great principle Raikes inculcated was

> to be kind and good-natured to each other; not to provoke one another; to be dutiful to their parents; not to offend God by cursing and swearing, and such little plain precepts as all may comprehend.[10]

He also printed a little book which he distributed amongst them. He had between 200 and 300 children at Sunday School aged from six to fourteen years, the number increasing every week.

> If good seed be sown in the mind at an early period of human life, though it shews itself not again for many years, it may please God, at some future period, to cause it to spring up, and to bring forth a plentiful harvest.[11]

The only rule he had was that the children come to school as clean as possible. [This was a major problem in the Stockport Sunday School at Manchester fifty years later, excluding thousands from Sunday School.[12]] He rejected none because of ragged clothing.[13]

To him, a reformation of society seemed only practicable by establishing notions of duty, and practical habits of order and decorum at an early stage.

> Let our patriots employ themselves in rescuing their countrymen from that despotism, which tyrannical passions and vicious inclinations exercise over them, and they will find that true liberty and national welfare are more essentially promoted, than by any reform in Parliament.[14]

Education as an antidote to crime was a very important feature in educational discussion in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Whether it is a valid factor has been disputed by some[15] but there can be no shadow of doubt that the theory (that knowledge and right action belong together) is many centuries old. It can be traced back to the Socratic concept of the identity of virtue and knowledge, which runs through several of the dialogues of Plato. The matter is stated in very simple terms in the early dialogues: the Charmides and the Lysis. A more refined and sophisticated version of the doctrine is encountered in the *Republic*.[16] Isocrates[17] and St. Augustine[18] touch on the matter also.

For our purposes however, it will be sufficient to start in 1698 when the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge was formed. It had an educational aim:-

> ...for the lasting Establishment of our holy Faith, and the spreading of it in the World, there is a visible Necessity of some special care to be taken for the breeding up of Children in Virtue and true Religion, for the reclaiming of those who Err in the Fundamentals of *Christianity*, and for encouraging the Propagation the Gospel in our Plantations.[19]

The Society applied itself particularly to the setting up of charity schools, for the education of the poor, and by 1729 1400 schools catering for 221,000 children had been established throughout England.[20]

Although charity schools increased in number after 1729 the movement lost its impetus for the remainder of the eighteenth century, and it was not until the 1780s, when Robert Raikes set about publicizing the Sunday School, that fresh vigour was injected into the concept of education as a remedy for crime.

The person who has most to say on this subject is Patrick Colquhoun (1745-1820), a metropolitan police magistrate. The following passage encapsulates Robert Raikes's idea.

> The great duty of all children ...is, that they shall attend to the Divine precept, *Fear God, and honour the King, and all in authority under him* — that they are dutiful and obedient to their parents and friends who have the charge of them, and thankful to them for sending them to school. — That they abstain from all vice and wickedness, and do honour to the school in which they are taught....[21]

Probably no other writer better sums up what Raikes was trying to do than Samuel Wilderspin (1792? - 1866). Nothing was better calculated to prevent the increase in crime, Wilderspin argued, than taking the children of the poor out of the streets, where they could learn no good, but much evil.[22] Such a step was likely to prove one of the greatest preventatives of crime that had been thought of for the last century, said he modestly.[23] He considered it to be of public importance, in every point of view, to take children out of harm's way.[24] Prevention was better than cure. How much better was it to endeavour to sow the seeds of virtue, piety and holiness in the infant mind, before it imbibed principles of dishonesty and all the evils attending it.[25]

It is an easy step from the Sunday Schools of Robert Raikes to the pastoral ideas of the Reverend Richard Johnson, chaplain of the newly formed colony of New South Wales. On 21 March 1792 he wrote to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel saying that he had long wished that some method might be hit upon to teach illiterate convicts to read, as great numbers of both men and women here knew not a letter of the alphabet. He thought that Sunday Schools upon a similar plan to those in England would tend much to the reformation of those unhappy wretches, and bring some of them to a better way of thinking. The difficulty was to find the right teacher, for you could not use a woman for this purpose. He thought "a little pittance" would suffice — to induce some person to take on the job.[26] Unfortunately nothing came of Johnson's idea and it remained for others to take the first practical step.

Thomas Hassall is acknowledged to be the founder of Sunday Schools in Australia. In May 1813, when still a youth of 18, he opened, in his father's house, the first Sunday School in Australia. The story of its origin is as follows:

On Sunday afternoon, 23 May 1813, Thomas was at home reading how Robert Raikes had founded Sunday Schools in England. He dozed off, but a fly persisted in settling on his face. Looking out the window, he saw some children playing in the paddock opposite and being influenced by what he had just read, decided to invite them in to tell them Bible stories. There he thought the matter ended. But the next Sunday afternoon the children returned with their companions and asked him to tell them more "pretty stories". The numbers increased and Sunday Schools in Australia became a reality.[27]

This story is undoubtedly a simplification of the matter. Very few movements start without difficulty. This was true of England no less than New South Wales. Raikes wrote to his friends:

> I can prevail on no one to second me in my little efforts to civilise the long despised and neglected children of indigence.
>
> I walk alone. It seems as if I had discovered a new country where no other adventurer chooses to follow.[28]

The next step was not the flowering of the Parramatta Sunday School almost in full bloom but a newspaper campaign that clearly was intended to create a public opinion favourable to Sunday Schools in Australia. The first shot in the campaign was a very well written one and a half column letter by "Amicus" that was published in the *Sydney Gazette* of 14 October 1815. Was "Amicus" Thomas Hassall's father or one of the soon-to-be set-up "Sunday School Institution" Committee members? I find it difficult to believe it was not one of these men, or all of them combined. This letter concluded:

> Education is conducive to morality; and morality influences the prosperity of a country, gives comfort to its inhabitants, encourages them to industry, supports them in their toil, and makes happy their repose; and yet, with this conviction, and notwithstanding my previous observations on the general inclination of my fellow colonists to see their children educated, yet we have to lament that there are numbers who are not attended to; many, who from the poverty of parents residing at a distance from the public schools, are kept at home; and many of the labouring orders, who in their youth were in the like way neglected, and who would now be thankful of an opportunity to improve; yet for these classes there is at present no provision. I should be therefore glad to see something in your Gazette upon the subject of *Sunday Schools*, from some of your Correspondents....[29]

Correspondents were not wanting. One supported the idea; another offered a subscription; a third wrote a fine account of Robert Raikes and his Sunday School at Gloucester.[30]

Was all this correspondence deliberately contrived? Surely the account of Raikes was. All we know for certain is that on 1 December 1815 the New South Wales Sunday School Institution was established in Sydney and a set of rules and regulations drawn up and adopted.[31]

The gist of the printed document was as follows: at a meeting of a few friends held in Sydney on 1 December 1815 it was unanimously resolved to form the New South Wales Sunday School Institution for establishing and promoting Sunday Schools throughout the Colony, with a view to the instruction of poor children of both sexes, to read the Holy Scriptures. The Secretary was James Smith, the Treasurer Edward Eagar and the Committee for 1816 was comprised of Rowland Hassall, John Eyre, Thomas Hassall, John Hosking, E.S. Hall, Thomas Bowden and Francis Oakes. The document stated that Rowland Hassall had previously waited upon Governor Macquarie who had cordially sanctioned the object of the Institution, and promised to give it his support.[32] The Institution was non-denominational in character.

This story can be added to from the evidence of Edward Eagar to the Bigge Commission in 1821. About the latter end of 1815, Eagar told the Commissioner of Enquiry, he and some of his friends observed that the attendance of the children on Sundays at the Public Schools was very small, and that at Parramatta "it had entirely ceased." They also knew that there were a great number of children who attended no school. Having received some publications from England from persons who had been active there in establishing Sunday Schools (this was the source of the account of Robert Raikes that appeared in the *Sydney Gazette* of 28 October 1815), they held a meeting in Sydney at which the Reverend Youl and the Reverend Vale (both Anglican clergymen) attended, and they entered into certain resolutions for forming Sunday Schools. They agreed to publish a circular letter soliciting aid and assistance.[33]

It was to one of these circular letters (which I have been unable to locate) that the Reverend Samuel Marsden (Senior Chaplain in the Colony) took exception early in 1817 in a letter to the Secretary of the New South Wales Sunday School Institution: he was upset by the implication in the letter that the Church of England was not doing its job. He claimed that the greater part of the children in the Parramatta Sunday School were taught daily in the Public Schools, and many of them taught on a Sabbath by the Public Schoolmasters, "and would have been taught, had your Institution never existed."[34]

The first object of Sunday Schools, Marsden went on in his letter to Smith, was to give instruction to the children of the poor who were labouring all the week, for their own support and that of their family. There were no "manufactories yet here for the employment of children...."[35]

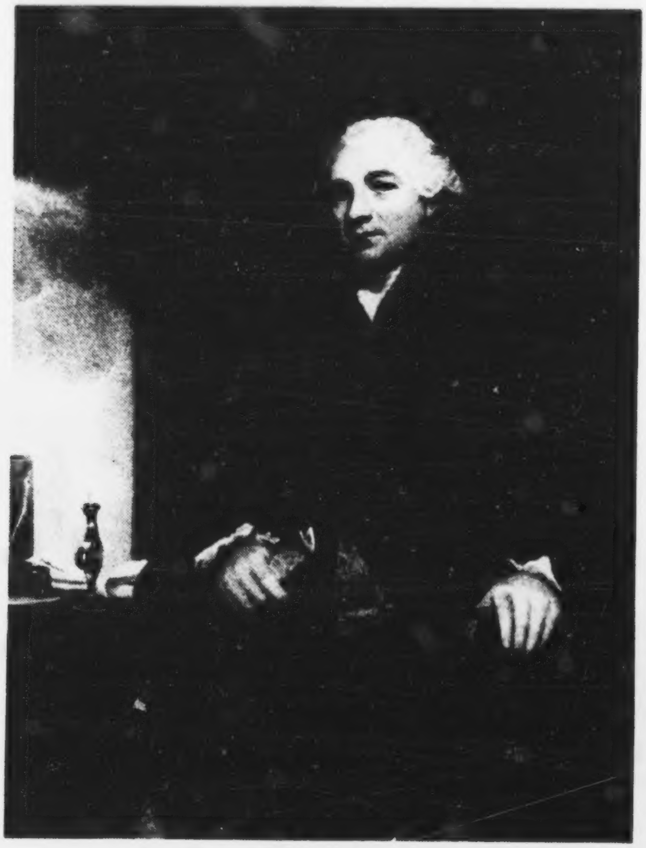
> The collecting of the children on the Sabbath days to the Public Schools, has been with a view more to induce habits of Morality and Religion, and respect for the Sabbath and the Divine Ordinances, than to learn them to read....[36]

He claimed the public letter contained a severe and unmerited censure of the Established Clergy.[37]

Obviously there was a conflict of opinion here. Who was right and who was wrong?

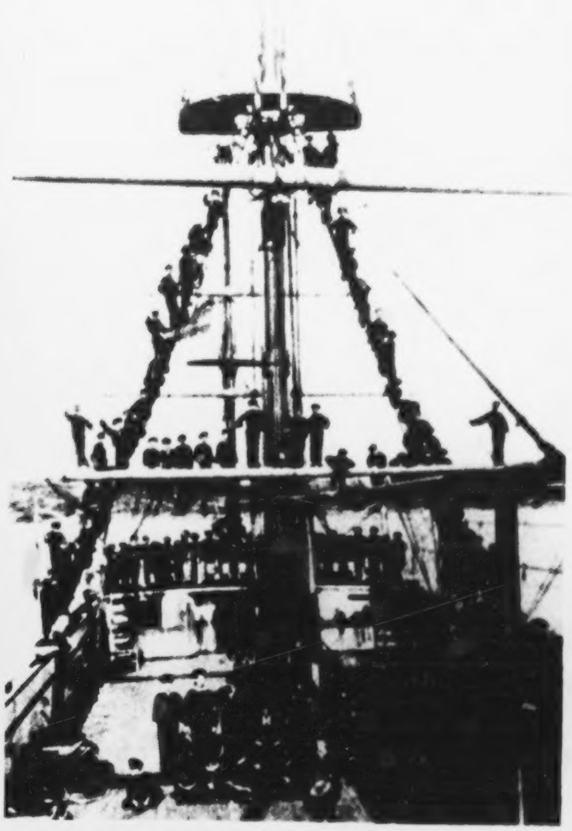
Marsden's letter to Smith of 10 January 1817 above was mentioned in Eagar's evidence before the Commission of Enquiry. Bigge asked Eagar whether he and his friends went ahead in establishing the Sunday Schools. Eagar replied that they did: Thomas Hassall and James Smith went from house to house to collect the children at Parramatta, and claimed that many were collected who never did attend school before. And Samuel Leigh, the Methodist Missionary, did the same at Sydney.[38]

And so Sunday Schools were successfully established in New South Wales, despite the difficulty made by Samuel Marsden. The success of the institution, almost universally, was immediate, although, as we saw, Robert Raikes had his bad times. In 1787 Manchester alone had over forty schools and some 5000 pupils, and in 1789 it was estimated that in the country as a whole over 300,000 children were attending. Famous men supported the movement. Adam Smith went so far as to say that "no plan has promised to effect a change of manners with equal ease and simplicity since the days of the Apostles." More soberly balanced was John Wesley's judgment after a visit to a Yorkshire school in 1784: "So many children in one parish are restrained from open sin, and taught a little good manners, at least, as well as to read the Bible."

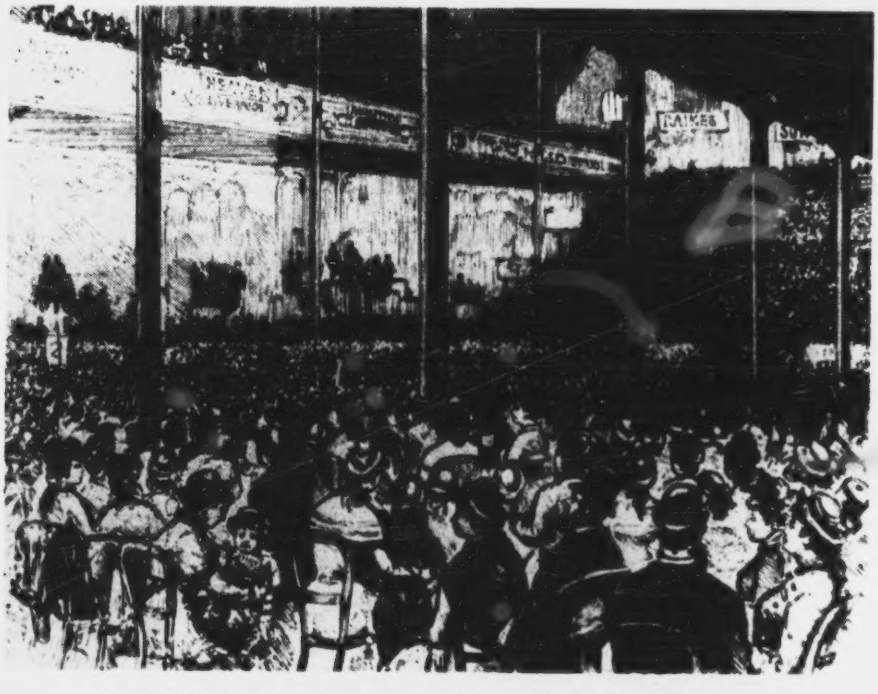


ROBERT RAIKES

THE FOUNDER OF SUNDAY SCHOOLS



A SUNDAY SCHOOL FOR DESTITUTE BOYS RUN BY BALMAIN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH ABOARD THE TRAINING SHIP 'VERNON'. COURTESY OF THE MITCHELL LIBRARY, SYDNEY.



11,061 children and 1,000 teachers turned out to celebrate the Centenary of Sunday Schools in 1880 at Sydney's Garden Palace

BEST COPY

Although Thomas Hassall is acknowledged as the Founder of Sunday Schools in Australia it is not clear that he was the founder of the Parramatta Sunday School, despite the fact that he was Superintendent and Secretary of that institution.[39] Its establishment appears to have been a joint effort, the lead being taken by James Smith, builder, of Sydney.[40] Smith was an emancipist. His contribution to the Colony as a builder is still evident today in the towers of St. John's Parramatta and the church of St. Luke's at Liverpool.[41]

At any rate, in December 1815 Parramatta Sunday School opened. There were only a few to start with, some six or seven children, two of whom were convicts [42] but within nine months it had increased to upwards of one hundred scholars with fifteen teachers. Hassall told the Reverend George Burder in September 1816 that Marsden had been very favourably disposed, and permitted them to carry on the Sunday School in St. John's Church, it being the only comfortable place in the town for that purpose. In June 1816 they established another Sunday School at Liverpool with from thirty to thirty five scholars, and another at Prospect with nearly thirty children.[43] The Parramatta Sunday School flourished while that at Liverpool declined in numbers.[44] John Eyre put the number of children in the Parramatta Sunday School at 130.[45]

The non-denominational character of the Sunday School Movement in Australia continued as is evidenced by the cooperation of the Wesleyan Methodists with the Anglican clergy in the following report: on Monday last the children of the Wesleyan Sunday Schools of Sydney underwent their annual examination. At 11 a.m. they walked from Prince Street Chapel to St. Philip's Church where the Reverend Cowper delivered a sermon. All the clergy (Cowper, Hill, Hassall and Mansfield) took an active part in the distribution of awards, after which the children were regaled with a plain but plentiful repast.[46]

New South Wales was a penal colony for most of its first sixty years of development, and this is why the Sunday School Movement is so important to Australia. It may be debateable whether or not the public schools catered for all children but it is fairly clear that convict children or the off-spring of convicts tended to miss out on schooling. It was here, in the Sydney region, that the Wesleyan Methodists did sterling service with Sunday Schools.

In 1821, the *Sydney Gazette* reported that the Reverend Walter Lawry had succeeded in introducing and establishing an additional Sunday School.

> This gentleman, with a few pious persons, lamented the unhappy and forlorn case of many poor children that were spending their infantine Sabbaths idly in the streets, notwithstanding the praise-worthy exertions of the then only Sunday School.[47]

Thirty had attended the first day, fifty the next and upwards of eighty were now regular attendants. The number had been much greater but it was liable to fluctuation because of the wanton negligence of the parents, or the culpable inertness of the teachers, said the *Gazette*. There was a Wesleyan Sunday School in Windsor and a Sunday School was expected to be founded shortly in Liverpool. In Parramatta there were two Sunday Schools — that at St. John's and the Wesleyan one. In Sydney there was a Church Sunday School and three Wesleyan Sunday Schools.[48] A few months later this was increased to four with the establishment of a Sunday School at the Cloth Manufactory at Botany Bay. At this Sunday School, the Reverend Mansfield told his General Committee, the teachers were from "our Society in Yorkshire". There were nearly twenty boys there who received instruction from them.[49] There was a Sunday School attached to the Macquarie Street Chapel (now Scots Church) and another attached to the Prince Street Chapel (now the approach to the Sydney Harbour Bridge). The last one was held in the Carters' Barracks in the Brickfields. At this one there were a hundred to a hundred and fifty convict boys, many of whom could not read at all before the School was formed. They were zealously instructed by Thomas Hyndes, one of the Wesleyan Methodist class leaders, who first commenced to work while the boys were stationed at Grose Farm — he went there "every Lord's day morning, with a perseverance which does him the highest credit."[50]

There was also a Sunday School at the Penal Colony of Port Macquarie at which Thomas Hassall was the Resident Chaplaim,[51] and one was also founded at Norfolk Island at which, on one occasion in 1837, 112 prisoners were present.[52]

Children worked hard at Sunday Schools. As Henry Harris pointed out about the turn of the present century, Raikes's scholars were compulsorily hauled to Sunday School. They stayed there because they had to, not because they liked it.[53] Some of the parents attached fourteen pound weights to the boys' legs and logs, so that they could not run away.[54] Raikes also used to lure children to his Sunday Schools with buckets of hot, steaming potatoes.[55]

Perhaps the best way of examining this dimension of the work of the Sunday Schools is briefly to look at the curriculum of early Sunday Schools. The first object of the Sunday School was religious and moral instruction, for which purpose the children were taught to read: the New Testament was the customary primer. Reading, the memorizing of the catechism, texts and hymns constituted the teaching in the great majority of these schools. But some were also taught writing and, fewer still, summing. It was difficult to find competent teachers and the results were not very satisfactory. The art of reading was taught "very imperfectly".[56] Some schools added advanced arithmetic, geometry and mapping but these were rare.[57]

The Report of a Select Committee on Education (about 1834) had this to say:

> Speaking of the schools generally, we cannot hope that more is acquired than an imperfect power of reading (not sufficient in many cases to enable a child to read with pleasure to itself), a yet more imperfect power of writing, and an acquaintance with the first three or four rules in arithmetic. In the schools in country parishes especially, the knowledge obtained is, we fear, exceedingly scanty.[58]

Raikes's description of a Sunday School he visited is interesting. The children, though many of them in apparel very ragged, were extremely clean. They walked in order to the Church where they were placed in a gallery exposed to the view of the whole congregation, and their behaviour during the service was perfectly silent and becoming.

In the repetition of the Lord's Prayer, they all joined and created a charm that made every heart "dilate with joy". After Church an examination took place. He was greatly pleased to see how proficient some of them were. Several could read in the New Testament, and two or three had learnt to repeat several chapters. Nearly fifty of them were perfect in their Catechism and all could repeat some of Dr. Watts' hymns.[59]

There was no significant difference between the Sunday Schools of England and Australia. Both seem to have been remarkably similar. If there was a difference it probably lay in the strength of the Monitorial System of Instruction used in Australia: it tended to survive here when more progressive systems of instruction were available — Pestalozzian methods for example. Bell's Madras System and Lancaster's system were used extensively in both England and Australia and account for the astonishing feats of memory performed in Sunday Schools. For instance, at the anniversary of the Wesleyan Methodist Sunday School at Parramatta on 14 March 1826 two little girls, apparently not more than ten years of age, had each committed to memory about 130 hymns and 20 or 30 chapters of the Bible, besides a considerable portion of the Catechism.[60] A fortnight later, an examination of the children of the St. John's Sunday School took place at which 106 children were present. The girl who received first prize was nine years old and was prepared to repeat 276 hymns and 41 chapters of the Bible. One four year old was ready to repeat 52 hymns.[61] At Hassall's Port Macquarie Sunday School the children were not as well trained. A girl of nine could only repeat 12 chapters of the Bible and 50 hymns and a boy of five could only manage 27 hymns without the aid of his book.[62] Obviously Bell's system had not been perfected properly at Port Macquarie.

Opinions as to the efficacy of Bell's Madras System differ diametrically. Patrick Colquhoun thought it "a most enlightened plan of education" and considered that Bell should have a statue erected to his memory.[63] A statue of Robert Raikes was put on the Thames Embankment in 1880 but it is doubtful if one was ever raised to Bell's memory. Robert Owen, in particular, was scathing of Bell's system of educating the poor, and called it "this mockery of learning".[64]

The founder of the Madras System was the Reverend Andrew Bell (1753-1832) who became Rector of Swanage in 1801 and introduced this system into the two Sunday Schools in his parish whence it spread throughout England. It was called the Madras System because it was in Madras that Bell discovered it. Its main principle can be easily stated: mutual instruction among the pupils. The terms "teacher" and "assistant teacher" described children — sometimes as young as seven — who were responsible for instructing the class. In the respective classes the tutors learned their own lessons while they taught their pupils, letter by letter, syllable by syllable, word by word, line by line, verse by verse, or sentence by sentence. That is, one letter, or syllable, or word, or line, or verse, or sentence was respectively learned before the next was looked at. The rule was short, easy and frequent lessons, divided into short parts, "gotten one by one and well said". It was applied to committing to memory the catechism, religious exercises, addition and multiplication tables and would have admirably suited learning hymns and the Bible.[65]

It is suggested that this partially explains how certain children's memories were so retentive in New South Wales. No doubt their efforts were surpassed in the U.K. and in the United States.

Before we look at a vignette of an Australian Bush Sunday School let us briefly look at some of the rules adopted by those who ran the Sunday Schools. A rule from one of the English Sunday Schools in 1809 declared:

> This school shall consist of children of any denomination, from five years old and upwards, not excluding grown persons desirous of instruction.[66]

It is said that in a particular Sunday School class at Bangor every pupil wore spectacles.

The 1816 Requirements and Rules of the Parramatta Sunday School are equally interesting. The first was to impress upon the minds of scholars, in the plainest and most endearing manner possible, the simple and fundamental principles and doctrines of the Bible; together with the various moral duties which, as children, they owed to their parents, masters etc., in no way attempting to influence their opinion in favour of any one denomination of Christians.[67] The fifth requirement was that teachers were not to inflict bodily punishment, but to behave in the most gentle manner possible, consistent with the authority of a teacher.[68]

What appears to be an earlier version of these rules for Parramatta Sunday School is more terse and prescriptive.

1. The scholars to attend at the proper time, with their faces, hands, and necks clean, and their hair combed.

2. If any scholars be guilty of lying, swearing, stealing, indecent conversation, or any other crime, they shall be punished; and if they persist in such wicked conduct, they shall be publicly expelled.

3. Premiums shall be given twice a year to the deserving scholars; but none can receive a premium, or any other mark of the esteem of the teachers' meeting, whose name shall appear on the face of the Black Book.[69]

The vignette referred to above was written by A.C. Twynam and is entitled "The Bush School". It appeared in volume four of *Mission Life* published in London in 1867.[70]

About 1862 Twynam visited a relative who lived in the bush about sixty miles from Melbourne, and seven miles from the nearest township. A few days after his arrival he noticed several children roaming about in the adjoining paddocks, and, on enquiry, was told that they were the children of their nearest neighbours, some small settlers. In the solitude of the bush, he began to take a great interest in watching the children, and in comparing them with those in England. Their parents were hardworking, poor people who had met with many reverses since their emigration, and whose time was too much occupied in earning the daily food to spare any other attention to their families. The children were consequently left very much to themselves, and were turned out every morning like so many puppies and kittens to while away the day. As to clothing during the Summer, one child's wardrobe seemed to be divided amongst them all. They were like little animals, having no ideas beyond the needs of the body, rolling about on the ground, sunburnt and dirty, or often fast asleep, lying in a knot together in some shady place.

They had little notion of amusing themselves. There were no merry games such as English children loved, no races after one another, no toys, no pictures. Day after day passed in mere existence.

The seventh day, however, was remarkable for several reasons; on this day the children's hands and faces were washed, and a few other garments were added to their attire; on this day a pudding or a pie was made by their eldest sister, and their parents rested from their labours by indulging in long slumbers, which were only broken by meals.

When he had become better known to them, his compassion for the ignorant and neglected state in which they were growing up led him to seek their parents' consent to the children coming to him on Sunday afternoons, that he might try to instill into them some idea of religion.

The mother, to whom he first spoke on the subject, said she had often wished that the children could attend a school, but the distance was too great to send them to the township (the road was bad too), and they were precluded from attending the church for the same reason. She was therefore very glad to accept his offer.

He then walked on to the next settler's hut, about a half a mile farther on. It was situated near a creek and surrounded by tall gums, oak trees and acacia. The hut, with its mud floor and scant, disabled furniture, resembled the first except that here "all bore a clean and brighter aspect."

He could still see the scene in his mind's eye — the wide hearth and burning logs, the few old framed prints hanging on the walls, the everlasting little china poodles and Highland shepherd and shepherdess, set out on a shelf for ornament — all relics of home, and suggestive of many happy reminiscences.

The woman was sitting in her chair, nursing a sick baby when he entered; and the other children, sunburnt, half-naked, with shocks of hair and wide-open eyes, stared round the door of the hut at him, as if he was an occupant of another world.

The woman lamented sadly the neglected condition of the children, "but, what with hard work and sickness, the poor things had to manage the best way they could by themselves."

The Sunday School was held in a barn used as a woodhouse. The first Sunday the children appeared with clean faces and more decently clad, but only the elder ones wore shoes and stockings. They were all smiling and brimming over with curiosity as to what was going to be done; for the younger ones, at least, it was an important epoch in their uneventful lives.

There were thirteen children all told, varying from 15 years to 9 months. First family — Eliza, aged 14, a quiet well-behaved, industrious girl; Bill, 13, a rather stolid and thick-headed boy; Johnny, 11, red-haired, slow and reserved; Dick, 8, gentle and studious; Jane, 9; Sally, 5; and sweet little, ragged, bare-footed Annie, aged 3, who learnt her hymns and verses as fast as she could be taught; and last, a 9 months old baby, the quietest and best behaved child Twynam had ever seen, and who would bear the persecutions of the tormenting flies with "most admirable fortitude". Second family — Harry, 15, a bright handsome lad; Polly, 9, whose dark eyes were brimming over with fun and mischief; Bob, 8, quiet and persevering; and two other little ones whose names he had forgotten.

He commenced by asking all to kneel, a proceeding that seemed rather novel to them. During prayers he noticed that the younger children did not at all understand the solemnity of the act, but laughed and talked together as if they were in no way concerned with it. When they had risen from their knees he asked each to find a suitable log of wood, and seat themselves round his chair. He separated the two eldest, Harry and Eliza, from the rest, as they had learned to read at a day-school in Melbourne before their families had moved "up country"; so he gave them texts and verses to learn whilst he talked to the younger children.

Although he had expected the children to be ignorant he was not prepared for so great a deficiency. He asked them who made them: to which he received no reply. He turned to the open door of the barn, pointed to the sun and asked them who made the sun, the blue sky and the tall trees. No answer, but a wondering stare. "Did you make them?" "No." "Did your parents make them?" "No."

> Well, then, it must have been some one who was much greater than any of us, who made you and them and every living thing. It was God, a wise and good Being, who takes care of us all night and day. We could not breathe or sleep unless He permitted it (at this the children looked alarmed). He wishes us to be good and happy like himself; but we cannot, because we are sinful, and do not do exactly as God tells us. Are *you* ever naughty?

A murmured "Yes" in reply.

> When are you so? I think it is when you are angry and unkind towards each other, and when you do not do what your father and mother tell you.

Then in as simple language as he could use he related the old, old story of Man's disobedience and sin, of a Saviour needed, and one given.

He did not tire them the first Sunday by talking too long. He gave them some pictures to look at while Harry and Eliza repeated their verses and hymns to him. Then they had a concluding prayer at which he entreated them to be silent: and thus ended the first Sunday class.

The following Sunday he gathered his class together again, having only his Bible and Prayer-Book as before. On his repeating the first question he had put, as to who made them, he was met again by looks of bewilderment. Suddenly a light seemed to break upon their faces, and they all cried out: "Adam and Eve."

He recommenced his teaching trying to use simpler language, but feeling a sort of despair at his inability to make them comprehend their creation and redemption.

This second Sunday he related to them parts of Christ's life, and it was curious to hear their remarks. Thus, when he was telling them about Herod, they asked if the babies were killed because they cried too much; and whether Herod rode in a gold coach, as they had heard Queen Victoria did. The fact that seemed most inexplicable to them was why bad men should have killed Jesus when he was so good and kind, and why God let them do so. He put two pieces of wood together to show them what a cross was like, and afterwards showed them an ivory one, which they handled with much curiosity.

Before the class closed, the elder ones — Harry, Eliza and Bill — petitioned that they might be allowed to sing Bishop Ken's Evening Hymn, which they had learned by heart. He gladly consented but soon repented: they had forgotten the tune or never knew it. The dismal discord which they kept up, intermingled by the shrieks of the others who wished to lend their voices to the chorus, was excruciating, and he determined the performance should never be repeated, until he could teach them to form some idea of musical sound. In spite of false notes and no time, they bore bravely on to the last verse, much to their own satisfaction, his only being that they had finished.

The following Sunday was a repetition of the preceding one, with this exception, that to his joy he found that they had been thinking over all he had told them, and could answer most of his questions. When he asked them, "where does God live", they all replied, "He lives in your garden!" Poor children! Unlike the little boys and girls of England, they had no primroses and cowslips to tie into posies — no sweet-scented violets, white and blue, to seek after under shady hedges; the few bush-flowers they could gather had little or no scent, and were dull in colour. When he heard the reply he remembered the longing looks of admiration with which they peered through the palings of his garden, where the roses and other flowers were blooming luxuriantly. And it was not so difficult to understand that they should associate God with all that they had yet seen of sweetness and beauty. It was a Garden of Paradise to them, into which they had only been permitted as yet to gaze.

After this third Sunday it became evident to him that they should make much more progress if all were able to read, so he determined to give up a portion of each day to their instruction, if they could come. They were delighted at the idea and the parents willingly assented. It was settled that they should come to him on the following day.

He began his day school with "few and rough materials" — a piece of chalk, two tattered copies of 'Step by Step', an old reading book, and two half-filled copy books. With the chalk he printed the alphabet on the barn walls, and pointed to each letter with a walking stick. They were obliged to admit the baby girl to their studies, as there was no one to look after her; but she was laid quietly in a corner on a shawl, in the charge of the faithful old dog, Bessie, who always accompanied the children. Bessie kept sharp watch over the baby, and the gentle creature allowed herself to be played with and pulled about by the little fingers, and kept the flies off by licking the baby face when the child was too much teased by them. When, however, Twynam's mischievous kangaroo pup succeeded in squeezing himself through an unnoticed hole in the barn, their harmony was disturbed; the cries of the baby and the barking of the dogs made a serious interruption to their lessons until the intruder was expelled.

Often, too, the dogs would lick the children's feet, which in cold weather was not disagreeable. But it tended to end in the fondling and cuddling of the dogs which interrupted the spelling.

On the whole they were extremely good children. He used sometimes to point half-jokingly to the walking stick when they were more than usually troublesome, reminding them it could have other uses besides being a letter-pointer; but long after it was discarded for this purpose it was still regarded as an insignia of office by the children, and carried before him into the barn. He fancied he could see them now, when their merry voices outside the house told him school-time had arrived. Standing at the door, each wanted to carry something for him into the barn; one would take his chair, another the ink, another a hot brick for his feet in rainy weather; others carried books, pencils etc., and all followed the bearer of the stick.

He purchased a few books, slates and copy books in the township. They soon began to make progress in their spelling, and to learn arithmetic, which he taught them by the use of marbles and stones. The elder ones wrote their copies on the lid of his sea chest, which formed a desk for them when propped up by the logs; they wrote from dictation also, common subjects being chosen, which could be explained afterwards. They extended their school hours sometimes far into the afternoon on account of the two elder boys who were at work in the paddock. "With praise-worthy good nature they would relieve each other at their labour, so as not to lose any time at their studies." Harry was remarkably intelligent and quick at everything; he had a well-shaped head and a fine handsome countenance. But Bill, though nearly as old, was very dull and stupid-looking in appearance. Harry soon overtook Eliza, who was more advanced when they first began; they both begged to learn geography, as Harry was anxious to know what was at "the very heart" of the world, as he expressed it.

Twynam was more than satisfied with the cheerful alacrity with which the children came to their lessons, and hoped eventually to have given them a winter amusement, by teaching them how to sing, but he was obliged to leave them just as they were getting along nicely: he was called to another part of the country, and it was with much regret that he relinquished his little school.

The Sunday before he left they met in the barn for the last time, and on closing the class he begged them to try to remember all that he had taught them. He hoped that Harry and Eliza would take his place, and that they would all work on together as usual; but Eliza soon afterwards obtained an excellent situation in a family, and Harry could not be spared by his father; so very soon, the school was "quite broken up."

In commemoration of their parting all the children were admitted to the house, and partook of cake and wine. Little Annie thoughtfully warmed her bare feet by the fire, and repeated the little hymn he had written for their use on the second Sunday of their class.[71] They were all very loth to part, and with tears in their eyes they said goodbye to him. And as they went slowly homewards he could hear the younger ones still repeating the question: "Aren't we going to have school any more?"

So much for Twynam's Bush Sunday School. There is no doubt that Sunday Schools have been enormously successful. In 1831 there were one and a quarter million Sunday School scholars in Great Britain alone. In 1880 there were twelve million throughout the entire world and in 1930, thirty three million. The 1980 world figure would be about sixty million children.

During the period 1780 to 1830, the influence and importance of the Sunday Schools can hardly be overrated. For the great mass of poor children who, on six days in the week, laboured in factories, they were the sole gateway to religious and indeed to any education. Inadequate and crude though the methods were, they got together the children of the poor and gave them some notions of behaviour and some ideas of religion. Many acquired and kept the art of reading and laid the foundations of an education. The Sunday Schools appeared at a time when the desire to read was felt almost as a universal passion, a possession of infinite value to be acquired at whatever cost.[72]

The cradle of the Sunday School was Gloucester and its great publicist Robert Raikes. The fire which he kindled in that city gives no sign that it will ever be extinguished. His connexion with the press enabled him to inaugurate a great national movement whose success was assured by the establishment of the Sunday Schools Union. And the operative date in that inauguration was 3 November 1783, when the first insertion concerning Sunday Schools appeard in the *Gloucester Journal*.

Documentary Notes

1 Frank Booth, *Robert Raikes of Gloucester,* National Christian Education Council, Redhill, Surrey, 1980 pp. 74-78 and Beverley Earnshaw, *Fanned into Flame: the Spread of the Sunday School,* Board of Education, Diocese of Sydney, 1980, pp. 2-3.

2 Alfred Gregory, *Robert Raikes: Journalist and Philanthropist*, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1877, pp. 53-54.

3 *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol.54, pp. 410-412.

4 A. Gregory, *Robert Raikes*, op. cit., p. 45.

5 *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol.54, p. 410.

6 *Ibid.*, pp. 410-411.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 411.

8 *Ibid.*

9 *Ibid.*

10 *Ibid.*

11 *Ibid.*, pp. 411-412.

12 See evidence of Benjamin Braidley, 24 July 1834 before Lord John Russell's Select Committee on the State of Education, *British Parliamentary Papers,* 1834, vol. 9, Cmd 572, pp. 174-187.

13 *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. 54, p. 412.

14 *Ibid.*

15 See for example A.F. Chamberlain's article on "Education and Crime" in P. Monroe (ed.), *Cyclopedia of Education,* Macmillan, N.Y., 1911, vol. 2, pp. 409-410.

16 Pp. 471C-521B; see also the Apology, the Phaedo, the Timaeus and R.L. Nettleship, *Philosophical Lectures and Remains,* Macmillan, London, vol. 1, pp. 239-248 and 384-392.

17 "Against the Sophists", 21 and "Antidosis", 274-277, vol. 2, Orations.

18 Treatise on the Free Choice of the Will, Book One, chapter one, sections 1-3.

19 *A Short Account of the Several Kinds of Societies...for the Reformation of Manners, and for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge*, n.d. (c.1718), p. 3, British Library, 816.m.22/75.

20 H.J. Burgess, *Enterprise in Education*, National Society and S.P.C.K., London, 1958, p. 10.

21 P. Colquhoun, *A New and Appropriate System of Education for the Labouring People*, Hatchard, London, 1806, p. 48. Cp. *Requirements and Rules* for teachers in the Parramatta Sunday School, Mitchell Library, Sydney, Ap 100.

22 S. Wilderspin, *On the Importance of Educating the Infant Poor*, Simpkin & Marshall, London, 2nd Edition, 1824, p. 13.

23 *Ibid.*, p. 15.

24 *Ibid.*, p. 19.

25 *Ibid.*, p. 82.

26 Johnson to SPG, 21 March 1792, SPG 'C' MSS, Box 10, London.

27 S.M. Johnstone, *The Founding of Sunday Schools in England and Australia: Centenary Celebrations at St. John's Parramatta, May 18-25, 1913*, The Cumberland Argus, Parramatta, 1913, p. 5 and Beverley Earnshaw, *Fanned into Flame*, op. cit., p. 17.

28 W. Goyen, *Robert Raikes: Reformer and Roadfinder* (Third Jubilee 1780-1930), Presbyterian Board of Religious Education, Melbourne, 1930, p. 25).

29 *Sydney Gazette*, 14 October 1815.

30 *Ibid.*, 28 October 1815.

31 See CO 201/127, ff.115-116.

32 *Ibid.*

33 Evidence of Eagar to the Bigge Commission, 28 January 1821, CO 201/127, f.90.

34 Marsden to James Smith, 10 January 1817, CO 201/127, f.117.

35 *Ibid.*

36 *Ibid.*, ff. 117-118.

37 *Ibid.*, f. 118.

38 Evidence of Edward Eagar, 28 January 1821, CO 201/127, f. 90.

39 See Parramatta Sunday School, *Requirements and Rules*, Mitchell Library, Sydney Ap 100.

40 John Eyre to Bigge, 3 February 1821, CO 201/127, f. 123.

41 Beverley Earnshaw, *Fanned into Flame*, op. cit., p. 17.

42 Address by Thomas Hassall to Sunday School Teachers in England in 1821, Hassall Correspondence, Mitchell Library, Sydney, A1677, vol. 4, p. 1516.

43 Hassall to Burder, September 1816, Bonwick Transcripts Missionary, vol. 2, Mitchell Library, Sydney, BT 50, p. 253.

44 Longford to T. Hassall, 2 October 1817, Hassall Correspondence, vol. 2, A1677, Mitchell Library, Sydney, p. 349.

45 Eyre to Bigge, 3 February 1821, CO 201/127, f. 123.

46 *Sydney Gazette*, 31 May 1822; see also *Sydney Gazette*, 22 March 1826.

47 *Sydney Gazette*, 1 September 1821.

48 *Ibid.*

49 Reverend R. Mansfield to the General Committee, 31 January 1822, Bonwick Transcripts Missionary, vol. 4, Mitchell Library, Sydney, BT 52, p. 1083.

50 *Ibid.*, pp. 1082-1083.

51 See *Howe's Express*, 4 July 1825.

52 Journal of the Reverend T. Sharpe, 12 November 1837, Mitchell Library, Sydney, B 217, p.155.

53 J.H. Harris, *Robert Raikes: The Man and his Work*, Arrowsmith, Bristol, n.d. [c.1899], pp. 36 and 99.

54 *Ibid.*, p.38.

55 W. Goyen, *Robert Raikes*, op. cit., p. 16.

56 J.W. Adamson, *A Short History of Education*, C.U.P., Cambridge, 1930, p. 233.

57 *Ibid.*, p.288.

58 Quoted by Frederic Hill, *National Education, its present state and prospects*, 1836, p.113, in Adamson, *ibid.*, p. 289.

59 W. Goyen, *Robert Raikes*, op. cit., p. 30.

60 *Sydney Gazette*, 22 March 1826.

61 *Ibid.*, 1 April 1826.

62 *Howe's Express*, 4 July 1825.

63 P. Colquhoun, *A New and Appropriate System of Education for the Labouring People*, Hatchard, London, 1806, p. 14.

64 Robert Owen, *A New View of Society*, Everyman edition, Dent, London, 1966, p. 75.

65 D. Salmon (ed.), *The Practical Parts of Lancaster's "Improvements" and Bell's "Experiment"*, C.U.P., Cambridge, 1932, pp. 73-74.

66 W. Goyen, *Robert Raikes*, op. cit., p. 30.

67 Mitchell Library, Sydney, Ap 100.

68 *Ibid.*

69 In Pamphlets collected by Mr. Justice Wise, p. 303, Mitchell Library, Sydney, Mss Room A 857.

70 *Mission Life or The Emigrant and the Heathen* (London), 1 October 1867, vol. 4, pp. 129-140.

71 Reproduced in full on pp. 139-140, *ibid.*

72 F. Smith, *A History of English Elementary Education 1760-1902*, University of London Press, London, 1931, pp. 63, 65-66.

GOVERNMENT OR NON-GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS: A BRITISH COLONIAL LEGACY AND ITS AFTERMATH

CLIVE WHITEHEAD

At the time of independence, former British colonies inherited education systems based on the voluntary principle, i.e. most schools were owned and operated by non-government agencies assisted by government grants-in-aid. This paper examines the justification for the practice and the contrasting policies adopted towards voluntary schools since independence by the governments of Malaysia, Singapore and Fiji respectively. In conclusion, discussion focusses on the relevance of some aspects of voluntaryism for government schooling in Australia. Particular emphasis is placed on the need for more variety in government schooling and greater parental choice.

Voluntaryism, which Arthur Mayhew once referred to as a fundamental feature of English education policy at all times and in all places,[1] and which was perhaps the most visible aspect of the educational legacy bequeathed by Britain to its former colonial dependencies, was justified on grounds of both principle and expediency. The establishment and maintenance of schools by means of private initiative was said to ensure a variety of aims and methods and avoidance of the official standardization and rigid uniformity traditionally associated with state education in France and Germany. Government education officials were expected to retain overall responsibility for the general direction of education policy, the provision of facilites and the maintenance of acceptable moral and academic standards, but they were also expected to encourage experimentation, to allow freedom of curriculum, to offer advice and to welcome it in return. Above all, meticulous inspection and control of details were to be avoided.

This essentially *laissez-faire* approach suited the conditions which prevailed in many colonies at the turn of the century. In most cases the Christian missions had started schools long before the British Government formally established its presence and for many years thereafter, government officials were only too glad to leave the provision of schooling in private hands while they grappled with the problems of establishing law and order and a viable economy. Voluntaryism also enabled colonial governments to eke out the meagre financial resources available for education through systems of grants-in-aid paid to schools conforming to stipulated requirements for buildings and staff. Christian missions were also able to invoke the assistance of The Almighty when raising funds for schooling, an option that was not open to colonial administrators. Voluntaryism had a tradition going back many centuries in British education and it was only to be expected that it would be exported to British territories abroad. Indeed, it was only in the latter half of the nineteenth century that government or state schools were established in the United Kingdom and then only because of the inability of the voluntary agencies to cope with the task of providing universal primary education.[2] Within the colonies, Christian missions were prominent in providing a wide variety of schools but many other religious and ethnic groups also took advantage of the freedom to establish schools and to qualify for government grants-in-aid.

Private enterprise clearly laid the basis for education in most colonies but it had its drawbacks. It tended to encourage racial segregation and sectional rivalries in society and the quality of school management often left much to be desired. Grants-in-aid also tended to favour those organisations with the necessary financial resources to satisfy government standards with the result that government aid appeared to be based on the maxim of 'to him that hath shall be given'. Sectarian rivalry also led to the frequent duplication of schools in some areas and a paucity of provision elsewhere. In many territories voluntaryism also gave rise to separate and distinct school systems catering for different ethnic groups. This was especially noticeable in colonies like Malaya and the east African territories where 'plural societies'[3] existed in which several races lived alongside each other without fraternizing socially.

The extent to which British colonial governments directed education policy during the inter-war years was closely related to financial considerations. For example, in the 1920s the Gold Coast enjoyed a financial bonanza from cocoa exports which enabled the Governor, Sir Gordon Guggisberg, to initiate a policy of educational expansion which included the founding of Achimota College, but the impetus was short-lived.[4] In most areas of the colonial empire, administrators had neither the funds nor the personnel to provide anything more than a general overview of developments and even that was often difficult to perceive in the depression-ridden years of the 1930s.

Many post-war critics have mistakenly argued that voluntaryism was part of a 'divide and rule' strategy deliberately designed to stifle potential political opposition to British rule.[5] The facts do not support this belief. Voluntaryism had been an integral feature of British educational thought and practice for several centuries. It offered variety of schooling, scope for local initiative and protection for group or minority interests. Moreover, it was relatively cheap to administer and appeared to pose no threat to British sovereignty. In short, it was a classic example of the pragmatism which featured so prominently in British colonial rule.

Voluntary agencies were responsible for most of the schooling provided in Malaya, Singapore and Fiji during the colonial period. However, such was the infinite variety of practice so often found in British colonies, that in the case of the Malays, the British established and maintained a system of vernacular schools as part of their original treaty obligations with the Malay States. Prior to independence in the mid 1950s, there were, effectively, four school systems operating in Malaya and Singapore, each based on a different medium of instruction. These included the Malay vernacular schools, English-medium schools, which were open to all who could afford to pay the fees, and schools catering for the Indians and the Chinese respectively. The Indian schools used Tamil as the language of instruction and provided for the descendents of Indian indentured labourers imported by the British to build roads and railways and work the rubber plantations. The Chinese schools, long regarded with suspicion by the British for political reasons, were closely aligned with the schools of mainland China. They taught in the medium of Kuo Yu (Manderin) and adhered to the Chinese school structure, curriculum and textbooks. Many of their teachers were also recruited directly from China. In Fiji, Christian missionaries initially established a network of vernacular schools in the Fijian villages which were handed over to local Fijian management committees in the 1930s. Schooling for the Indians, whose presence in Fiji stemmed from the need for indentured labour to work the sugar plantations, was slower to develop and was provided almost exclusively by the Indian people themselves. Apart from the Malay vernacular schools, the governments in each of the three territories mentioned, were directly responsible for no more than a handful of schools. Their primary function was to supervise the general development of education and to administer the grant-in-aid arrangements.

The Second World War transformed the politics of Southeast Asia. British hegemony was shattered by the fall of Singapore in 1942, and even though Malaya and Singapore were reoccupied in 1945, Britain's days as a colonial power in the region were clearly numbered. Immediately after the war British education policy in the region entered a new phase designed both to expand and to improve the quality of schooling in preparation for independence. The emergence of Malay nationalism and the protracted struggle with the communists in Malaya were also factors of central importance in understanding education policy both before and after independence. In the dying stages of British rule in Malaya, education policy was reshaped to facilitate the belated growth of a sense of national consciousness. The Government gave financial backing to national and national-type schools based on the use of Malay and English as the languages of instruction and this policy was pursued with renewed vigour after independence. The overriding objective of the independent Malayan Government was to produce a *national Malayan outlook*. This was to be achieved by multi-racial schooling, the progressive use of Malay as the principal medium of instruction, a common curriculum, and a unified school system in which the majority of schools would be owned and operated by the state. Voluntary schools were given the choice of becoming fully private or fully assisted government schools. Most chose to become the latter so that the present Malaysian school system is to all intents and purposes government owned and controlled. No fees are charged in government or fully-assisted schools and there is a high degree of state supervision and control of the schools in marked contrast to the colonial era. This policy, made possible by the relative economic prosperity of Malaysia since independence, has understandably met with opposition from the Malay Chinese but they have had little choice but to accept it or emigrate.

Since 1945, Malaysian education policy has been strongly influenced by Malay fears that their culture and the control of their homeland was threatened by the presence of a large Chinese minority which has traditionally wielded considerable economic influence. By contrast, the Chinese in Singapore, who constitute in excess of 70 per cent of the population, feel no threat from the Malay and Indian minorities. This fact is reflected in the education system which places a very high priority on the promotion of a Singaporean identity amongst the diverse ethnic groups resident in the Republic. Prior to independence, the British initiated a major expansion of government schools in Singapore in collaboration with voluntary effort. Since independence the *duality* has been maintained. Many schools have also been integrated, i.e. they now cater for two or more language streams. The education sytem is unified in the sense that all schools follow a common programme and all teachers are trained by the state, but the concept of a national school is more broadly conceived of than in neighbouring Malaysia. For example, several languages are used as media of instruction in the schools although for commercial reasons a heavy premium is now placed on a knowledge of English at all levels of schooling. Voluntary schools have also retained a recognised place in the school system although they are expected to conform closely to the standards in government schools. The degree of control exercised over the voluntary schools depends on the amount of aid received. The main differences between government and government-aided schools lie in the areas of finance, responsibility for day-to-day management, and the status of staff employed. Education figures prominently in Singapore's national development but the school system has not been nationalised to the same degree as in Malaysia.

Fiji, by contrast, retains the same voluntary system of schooling inherited from the British at the time of independence in 1970. The government has been anxious to use education to promote economic and social development but it has not had the financial resources to promote a major expansion of schooling based on a network of state or public schools. Indeed, it has consisently upheld the virtues of voluntary effort in the establishment and maintenance of schools, assisted by generous government financial aid which currently accounts for approximately 18 per cent of total government expenditure.[6] In the past there have been suggestions that the government should establish a network of public schools but they have been rejected in favour of a system which, whatever its shortcomings, is claimed to sustain local interest and support for schools. If the government assumed total responsibility for schooling it is feared that local support would rapidly diminish.[7] Fiji is situated far from the political turmoil that has beset Southeast Asia since 1945 and this partly accounts for the marked lack of enthusiasm to use the schools, as in Malaysia and Singapore, as deliberate agents of nation-building. A fuller explanation involves an understanding of the internal politics of Fiji and in particular, the complex balance of Fijian and Indian interests.

The following recent statement is indicative of the importance attached to education by the governments of most of Britain's former colonies:

> Education in Nigeria is no more a private enterprise, but a huge Government venture that has witnessed a progressive evolution of Government's complete and dynamic intervention and active participation. The Federal Government of Nigeria has adopted education as an instrument par excellence for effecting national development.[8]

Nowadays, it is widely assumed, mainly on grounds of equity and efficiency, that a system of state schools provides a better national investment than a network of schools operated on the voluntary principle. At the heart of the matter it is a question of *control*. As the Indian Education Commission concluded in its report of 1966;

> The growing educational needs of a modernizing society can only be met by the State and it would be a mistake to show any over-dependence on private enterprise which is basically uncertain.[9]

The political importance attached to the control of education has clearly determined the fate of the voluntary schools in Malaysia and to some extent in Singapore but voluntaryism still has certain virtues that should not be discarded lightly. Government systems of schooling may facilitate equality of opportunity and uniformity of standards. Indeed, one leading Fijian academic recently suggested to the writer that a state system of schooling in Fiji could establish a much-needed basic standard of quality which could serve as a yardstick for all schools and also encourage a more meaningful expression of multi-racialism.[10] But government school systems can equally generate sterile uniformity and rigidity which makes a mockery of education conceived of as a process of individual development and enrichment.

In many countries, including Australia, there is a pressing need to marry the advantages of both private and public enterprise in education.

Educational administrators need to provide for greater colour and variety while at the same time satisfying the criteria of equity, efficiency and public accountability. In particular, greater efforts need to be made to offer a wider range of choice of schools and types of schooling for parents who cannot afford to pay for the privilege of sending their children to private schools. Schooling in colonial Malaya or Fiji may have often been of poor quality, unevenly distributed and socially divisive but it rarely lacked colour and variety or local interest and support. The same cannot always be said of government schools whether in Australia or elsewhere. An emphasis on individuality and an innate suspicion of central planning and control have long been associated with British educational thought and practice. They may not readily accommodate to the modern image of education as a vehicle for national development but schools are surely poorer places if such emphases are cast aside in the quest for efficiency.

The quality of schooling in any education system inevitably reflects the calibre of educational leadership and administration. For more than a decade there has been frequent reference to the need for educational administrators in Australia to be more sensitive to local needs and aspirations. The challenge is not simply to make it easier for voluntary agencies to establish and maintain alternative schools but to enable government education systems to respond to the demand for greater choice. In Western Australia commendable efforts were made in the 1950s to reshape government secondary schooling on the comprehensive model. Unfortunately, the policy left little room for diversity. Perth Modern School lost its former unique identity as a highly academic institution with a restricted basis of entry and *all* government secondary schools have subsequently been developed as co-educational, neighbourhood comprehensives. Nowadays, unless parents have the financial means to opt out of the government education system altogether, they have no choice but to send their children to the local neighbourhood school. Local zoning or defined catchment areas for government secondary schools have further restricted parental choice of schooling. There seems little doubt that these are contributing factors to the drift, some might say the rush, to non-government schools evident in recent years. Given the option, it is highly likely that the public would support a greater variety of government schools. Single sex schools, especially for girls, and schools of varying size are two variables that many parents might wish to consider in their choice of schools. Some schools, more especially at the secondary level, might also wish to emphasize certain subjects or groups of subjects, e.g. mathematics and science or music and fine arts. It is true that this idea was introduced into Western Australian government secondary schools in the 1960s but it was only on a limited scale and didn't result in any fundamental change in the nature of the schools involved. Schools might also wish to offer alternative types of curricular to that traditionally provided, including superior opportunities to develop skills in specified sports akin to that provided by the Institute of Sport in Canberra. Still other schools might wish to concentrate solely on lower or upper secondary school work or put special emphasis on catering for the needs of children with a variety of learning disabilities. Relaxation of zoning restrictions, which in many instances are now no longer so imperative because of falling school enrolments, would also broaden the basis of parental choice. Clearly a much greater element of choice in government schooling could be made available to the public if schools were administratively more autonomous. In the final analysis, however, it is the degree of freedom extended to Boards of Managers, Headmasters and their staff that determine the nature, tone and character of any school. Voluntaryism can encourage individuality and variety. The challenge currently facing administrators of government schools is to demonstrate that considerations of equity and efficient use of resources do not necessarily have to result in deadening uniformity at the expense of variety. A useful starting point might be to examine more closely the virtues rather than the shortcomings of voluntaryism or private initiative in the provision of schooling.

The establishment of separate Boards of Governors for each government secondary school and participation in the selection of their staff, including the appointment of the headmaster/mistress, as occurs in New Zealand, might provide a useful starting point in the quest for more variety in government schooling in Australia. Greater freedom from blanket bureaucratic regulations and an element of genuine choice over annual expenditures would also enhance a sense of separate identity and help to generate public interest and concern within each school.

Regrettably, voluntary schools in both Australia and New Zealand have traditionally not been renowned for innovativeness and variety in the same way as many of their English counterparts, so they do not offer a ready example of what might be achieved if government schools were administered differently. Nevertheless, many of them do have governing structures which could speedily introduce changes if so desired. Government schools are not so fortunate. By contrast, they are hedged in on all sides by reams of bureaucratic regulations which largely inhibit any element of genuine choice over annual expenditures or choice of staff, which might, in turn, enhance a sense of separate identity and generate greater public interest and involvement.

Choice of secondary schooling inevitably involves personal and social values which are inseparable from the 'politics' of schooling whether in Australia or elsewhere. Many non-government schools in Australia enjoy widespread popularity because government schools fail to offer sufficient choice or, dare one mention it, selectivity. If there were several prestigious government schools in Perth comparable to Perth Modern in its heyday, preferably set amidst landscaped parklands, with perhaps Gothic-style architecture and ivy-clad walls, it is most unlikely that there would be any significant drift to non-government schools other than for genuine religious reasons. Moreover, such schools need not cater exclusively for an academic elite as is commonly supposed. State governments have enormous resources at their disposal. The challenge is to utilise them more effectively than at present in the interests of all citizens. Local comprehensives may appear to satisfy the majority of the population but only, one suspects, because they have no option.

In all British colonies, whether they later became self-governing dominions like Australia and New Zealand or remained dependencies of Whitehall until after the second world war, education was entrusted initially to voluntary agencies. In Australasia voluntary schooling was subsequently superseded by government initiatives. There were various reasons for the change but inter-denominational rivalry, the uneven spread and quality of schooling, and the need for greater efficiency and accountability in the use of public revenue all figured prominently in the decisions to establish government systems of schooling. Similar arguments influenced countries like Malaysia and Singapore and many former African colonies to opt, after independence, for what are essentially government school systems. But once an efficient, stable and uniform system of schooling has been established for several decades, in which the principal needs of equity and accountability have been achieved, there is need for further consideration of how best to allow for a measure of diversity. Otherwise, a school system is in danger of falling prey to the deadening uniformity of method and purpose that Mayhew was so fearful of.

Educational administrators are not unaware of the problem in Australia. The Victorian Government, for example, is currently reported to be examining possible changes to school administration in an effort to promote a greater sense of individual identity in schools. Nevertheless, at the present time there is a sense of general unease being expressed about government schooling throughout Australia and seemingly in New Zealand also. If this is to be arrested, more thought will need to be given, to ways of restoring a sense of genuine parental choice of schooling, and the options available will need to be meaningful alternatives. Both will call for a sense of adventure and an element of risk, two qualities noticeably absent in many high-ranking state education officials.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1 A. Mayhew, *Education in the Colonial Empire*, Longmans, 1938, p.44.

2 Forster's Education Act 1870 was expressly designed to fill up the gaps left by voluntary initiative.

3 This term was popularized by J. S. Furnival in his study *Colonial Policy and Practice*, New York University Press, 1956.

4 R. E. Wraith, *Guggisberg*, London, 1967.

5 See for example, *Revised Report of the Royal Commission on the Teaching Services, West Malaysia*, Kuala Lumpur, 1971, p.24.

6 Figure supplied by Fiji Ministry of Education.

7 Minister for Education, *Fiji Parliamentary Debates*, 6 March 1978.

8 Federal Republic of Nigeria, *National Policy on Education*, Lagos, 1977.

9 *Report of the Education Commission 1964-66*, pp.446-7.

10 Registrar of the University of the South Pacific in conversation with the writer, August 1982.

PRIVATE SCHOOLS AND NATIONAL POLICY: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF AUSTRALIA AND THE UNITED STATES

Thomas H. Jones

Although the United States and Australia are similar in many ways, their patterns of financing elementary and secondary education are quite different. Virtually all Australian primary and secondary schools are funded from State and Federal sources. Publicly administered "government" schools receive nearly one hundred percent funding from tax revenues. Privately administered, "non-government" schools receive less than one hundred percent of their income from taxation. But the amounts that non-government schools receive are still substantial. In the united States, on the other hand, privately administered schools receive virtually no government funds. And this difference provided an impetus for the present study.

Armed with these thoughts but few concrete facts on data the writer set out to design an empirical investigation. There were constraints. The writer, a Professor of Education Administration at the University of Connecticut in the United States, would be in Australia for only five months. He had never been in Australia before and had little prior knowledge of the country, beyond that described above. The university where the writer would be based, New England, was located in Armidale, New South Wales, far from any major population centres. The study would have to be fitted in amidst teaching and other duties. And research funds necessarily would be quite limited.

For reasons mentioned above the present study had to be designed in the United States where little recent literature on Australian school finance was available. Among the most helpful documents were those of the U.S. Australia Education Policy Project with its (U.S.) headquarters at the School of Education, Stanford University,[4] the writings of Donald Erickson and his colleagues on government aid to private schools in the Canadian province of British Columbia, and the reports of Joel Sherman and Harold Noah. The works of Greeley and Rossi and Greeley, McCready and McCourt discuss the particular dynamics operating in American Catholic schools, and some Australian literature was sent to America through the good offices of the University of New England. But these investigations - helpful as they were - dealt with specific aspects of the aid question, for example legal issues or religious education. There was no literature which provided a broad overview.

Accordingly, the writer set out to produce a broad overview of the type his literature search had failed to uncover. Since the debate in the United States is still being conducted at the public policy level rather than the planning or implementation level, policy making would be the focus of the present investigation. It seemed sensible to begin at the beginning: that is, to ask policy makers what they were doing and how it was working out. Accordingly the broad research question for study was formulated as follows:

> How do Australian educational and political leaders view their Federal Government's school and policies?

The task was to develop a series of specific questions based on this general question. The list of specific questions would have to be drawn up so that they were helpful to the policy debate in the United States.

In 1978 the United States Senate's Committee on Finance conducted hearings on the question of income tax credits for private schools. Persons from more than one hundred United States organisations, representing a wide variety of political and religious persuasions, made prepared statements and took part in related discussion. All this information plus senators' questions and discussions were transcribed for the official record. The testiminy covered every conceivable aspect of the private school aid issue from taxes, to school curriculum, to school sport, to morals and religion.

The 1978 Hearings proved to be crucial to the design of this study. They were sufficiently comprehensive to provide the desired breadth of subject matter. Yet the testimony was specific enough to facilitate construction of a semi-structured interview questionnaire for use with Australian policy makers. Once the questionnaire was drawn up, university colleagues of the researcher examined the questions for salience and clarity. Modifications of the original questionnaire were made. Colleagues at both the Universities of Connecticut and New England helped in this process.

Content of the Report

The report is written in four chapters with related appendices. The present paper draws from Chapter I. Chapter II, contains some background information on the schools of the two countries. A brief history forms the background for discussion of current schooling arrangements in America and Australia. Then a typology for government policy is presented.

Chapter III contains specific questions and responses given by the ten interviewees. When questions elicited convergent opinion-responses, the similarities are noted. For divergent opinion-responses the areas of disagreement among respondents are highlighted and discussed.

Chapter IV contains the conclusions and implications of the study. These observations deal with differences among respondents regarding the nature of schooling, the role of school in socialization to adult life and the role of religion and social class in school choice. The chapter concludes with a mention of some policy issues which are emerging in Australia and the United States.

SUMMARY

There is a very high degree of convergence among these ten leaders' opinions. Communication among the school sectors is free flowing. Each group knows what the other is up to and how they think. Taken together these facts pretty well lay to rest the question of "insider" versus "outsider" knowledge posed at the beginning of this chapter. People in one sector hold opinions remarkably similar to those held by persons in any other sector. And the overwhelming convergence of opinions may well be the study's most surprising finding.

The remainder of this summary is devoted to drawing a composite profile of the respondents' answers. The composite is on a topic-by-topic basis rather than a question-by-question basis. Differences amongst responses will be pointed out where relevant. But the overwhelming impression is one of similarity among them.

Parents choose non-government schools for a variety of reasons, but the two most important are social and religious. Religious considerations are likely to be more important for Catholic and systemic schools; social considerations are likely to play a bigger role in Protestant and independent schools.

Government aid has had no special regulatory effects on non-government schools in the sense of requiring them to do what they otherwise would not have done. But pressures for more regulation are emerging. The chief effect of aid to date has been on the Catholic sector, which has achieved much more satisfactory resource levels over the last eight years.

Government schools are more comprehensive than non-government schools in two senses of the term. First they must operate everywhere including small rural schools in every corner of the nation. Small schools impose additional per pupil costs not required in larger schools. And, since non-government school aid (which goes mainly to larger schools) is based on what government schools spend per pupil, there may be some bias. The second sense in which government schools are more comprehensive is course offerings at the secondary level. General, vocational and special education curricula impose costs on the government sector which the non-government sector does not have to provide. Its clientele are more academically oriented.

On the other hand non-government schools do have extra curricular sport, religious and cultural activities for which pupil participation is required. Supervision of these extra activities is expected and is a condition of teacher employment in non-government schools. Such activities are not required of teachers or pupils in government schools. And this would be a major difference between the two sectors.

Student academic achievement is higher in non-government schools, due to their more selective clientele and to the emphasis which those institutions place on test success. Students in such schools tend to be satisfied because their education is a bit more likely to lead to social and financial success later in life. But they may find their school days to be extremely demanding. Government schools allow their students more free time after school and on weekends.

School fees are a problem in several ways. The high cost of some schools means that most families can't afford to send their children. This in turn creates social distinctions between "haves" and "have-nots" which carry over into adult society. On the other hand, some lower level of fees may be desirable, partly on the "user should pay" principle and partly on the accountability principle. Parents may take more interest if they pay out of pocket and institutions may be more accountable to parents and children if they are paid directly, although some respondents disagree with this.

All sectors cooperate in supply and use of instructional support personnel - e.g. coordinators of curriculum, psychologists. This cooperation helps break down administrative and personnel barriers which otherwise might exist. But present levels of cooperation are threatened by budget cuts.

Religious observances are not permitted in government schools and religious education has been a big curricular problem. Non-government schools do not have to fact this problem because they do not have to cater to all sorts of religious persuasions and non-religious attitudes.

The Catholic Church is a strong supporter of non-government school aid. Protestants are more variable. All major political parties are supportive, and the judicial issue has been settled in favour of aid. For all these reasons Australia is very likely to continue to fund non-government schools, in some form, for the foreseeable future.

Generalisations About School Sectors

In the questioning, respondents were asked to characterise entire educational sectors. They all expressed the view that their generalisations would be incorrect in specific cases. Despite this caveat respondents felt there was something to be gained from generalisation and sectorial characterisation.

Interviewees felt most comfortable in generalising about questions dealing with law, finance, politics and administration. These categories seem to be the ones which distinguish government and non-government schools most uniformly and completely.

Another area for generalisation was people in schools. These answers dealt with people's motivations, their family backgrounds, aspirations for the future, recreational and general attitudes toward society. Respondents' thought categories in these areas were similar. But their responses tended to show more disagreement on the substantive issues.

A third set of thought categories dealt with classroom environments. Their respondents were most reluctant to generalise. Apparently, excellent teaching and learning occurs within all sectors. Unfortunately, so does the inferior variety.

As a general rule system administrators found generalisation easier than school principals. This is not surprising. It merely reflects the different nature of leadership activities at the two levels. Principals are more oriented to the problems of curriculum, pupils and staff relations. System leaders deal more with politics, law and finance.

Two Constructions of Reality: Religion and Social Class

This section deals with differing social orientations which underlie choice of school sectors. Considerations here relate to philosophy, law, finance and politics.

Religion and Freedom of Choice

Non-government leaders believe their schools serve a fundamentally religious or ethical purpose which is based on Judeo-Christian traditions. This purpose transcends the mere daily activities of the school. Or perhaps it would be more correct to say that the core purpose is reflected in all daily activities. In either interpretation, the core purpose achieves its importance because of its permanent nature. Children will first internalise this higher purpose to their lives, then carry it with them long after they leave school. It will sustain them throughout adult life.

This, of course, is an idealisation in the sense that not every single child will be so affected. But the ideal does justify the schools existence in the respondents' minds. It is what activates principal and staff each day. It motivates policy and practice. Even if some parents seek temporal advantages for their children more than transcendental ones, still the latter do rub off along with everything else.

Religion and ethics, of course, are not altogether a matter for the school. They must be fostered in the home as well. And since homes differ in the attention they give to this matter, one school - or one type of school - is not for everybody. Schools should vary according to family tastes and families should match themselves to the right school. But this privilege should not be left to the very rich. Everyone should have the opportunity, and the only way to effect this is to give tax funds to various privately administered schools.

The ideal, then, begins with the individual not society as a whole. A good society starts with good individuals. And good individuals emerge from free choice in schooling. If a few families choose inappropriately, too bad. But individual error is far preferable to state compulsion. In this sense participation in the non-government school ideal is entirely voluntary. The ideal is not undermined if some people choose not to accept it.

Social Class and the Commonwheel

The government school accepts the values of the secular culture. As an institution it takes no stand on the transcendental question but is concerned instead with life on earth. Traditions of all sorts play a minor role; guides for activity come from the rapidly changing contemporary civilization, not from any fixed view of life.

According to respondents the role of the government school is to act as an independent force in the child's life. It should not merely reflect the values held by a particular family. It should broaden the child's view by exposing him to the culture as a whole, not one narrow part of it.

The government school must, therefore, be socially comprehensive if it is to achieve its expressed social mission. In order to get the breadth of views and experiences of each social group it must have children from all social groups. If only low income students attend, the government school cannot fill its mission.

For this reason social class tends to be the most frequently mentioned category in government leaders' responses. The mingling of various social classes in school seems to fulfil the same role in government leaders' responses that religious values etc. fill for non-government leaders. They are the most often mentioned topics. They seem to be the over-arching consideration.

The emphasis on social comprehensiveness means that the ideal of the government school is much more constraining on individual members of society. Non-government schools can get along fine without participation from large segments of society. But government schools cannot. If all recognizable groups do not participate in government schooling, including the upper classes, its social ideal cannot survive. If non-government schools are financed too generously government schools will not be comprehensive schools but pauper schools.

The Rebuttal

The positions of each sector are of course known to the other. Government school people have particular difficulty with the religious argument in the case of the high fee Protestant schools. If religion is so important why do Protestant denominations have schools which a majority of their communicants cannot afford to attend? (The answer should be that separate schooling is not required in the Protestant religion).

Others reply that government schools are mediocre and uniform. Comprehensive they may be. But in trying to be all things to everyone they aren't really satisfying to anyone.

How much variety is in the common interest? The conflict between the religious/ethical and social class arguments cannot be reconciled but only compromised.

The Nature Of Schooling

In this section we consider people in schools pointing out some of the major differences in institutional arragements for students and teachers.

Personality Development And Student Discipline

Since school values in the non-government sector are relatively timeless, they don't change with the whims or fashions of the present generation. Student character is something to be shaped along well defined lines. And non-government schools have the mechanisms at their disposal to do so. Number one in importance is parent interest and home support. Second is a more controlled school environment. The non-government school can decide on the maximum amount of disruptive, socially-deviant behaviour it wishes to tolerate. Third is academic emphasis in the curriculum. Fourth, after school activities like sport and drama are compulsory. And fifth, moral and religious education is integrated into the curriculum.

Government schools do not have these control mechanisms to the same degree, and their student development goals are different. They want each child to mature and develop along the lines that child wishes for himself with appropriate advice not only from parents but from other parts of social as well. In the government school it is not so much a question of conformity to their pattern as finding your own pattern. This may be less rigorous but more enjoyable.

Academic Achievement

Non-government leaders realise that academics are the major consideration for most of their parent clientele. Therefore these schools are mainly for academic pursuits, particularly at the secondary level. Respondents believe that non-government schools probably start with brighter students and then place them in an atmosphere where expectations are high. Even for those not going on to tertiary study the demanding atmosphere is still a good preparation for entry onto the labour market.

Academics are certainly an important part of government schooling, but they do not play the same central role that they play in the non-government sector. According to respondents government school parents don't always expect their children to do well in school. They hope they will. But they don't expect that they will, because parents' own school success may have been limited. Government schools offer all sorts of studies besides strictly academic ones in order to help children find what they are best at.

Staff Attitudes and Activities

In non-government schools the teacher is the main link between the educational ideal and the daily life of the child. More than anyone else it is up to the individual teacher to shape the child's personality. Hence school teaching is considered a vocation. Teachers must put in long hours not only in the classroom but in sport and other activities. Since students are generally highly motivated to learn, actual teaching skills are less important in this sector than in the other sector. Teacher personality and character are more important.

Responses referring to government school teachers fall into two thought categories which might be labelled "professional" and "industrial worker". As a professional the government school teacher is likely to have developed more teaching skill than his colleague in the non-government sector. He spends more time planning lessons and is in touch with the very latest trends in his teaching field. Since his students are not necessarily highly academic, it is up to the teacher to give his classroom an exciting and stimulating atmosphere.

The government school teacher in his role as industrial worker has a rather different reputation. He is not required to see the children outside the classroom, although he may organise activities voluntarily. He goes on strike for higher wages and shorter hours. (To date teachers in the other sector have not done so). The degree of actual hardship caused by strikes is in much dispute. But strikes do create in some minds the image of a teacher as a bureaucrat with a clock-watching mentality more concerned about the conditions of work than the work itself. This of course is a stereotype not a quotation, but it does serve to identify one of the major attitudinal divisions which exist in Australian society.

Choice And Conformity

Both sectors emphasise choice and conformity, but in different ways. In the non-government sector schools distinguish themselves from one another. They offer a slightly different range of courses, extra curricular activities etc. in a hope to attract families. The choice comes in matching a particular child to a particular school. But once there the student is expected to conform to its rules and procedures. He is expected to participate in many activities. He must integrate himself fully into the character of the school.

In the government sector one school conforms pretty much to every other. It doesn't matter much which school the child attends. But once in school the child has a greater chance for self direction and development. There is no one image for the school and fewer behavioural norms to be followed.

Thus in the government sector there is conformity among schools but choice within them. In the non-government sector there is conformity within schools but choice among them.

Classroom Environments

The final set of thought categories deals with pedagogy: learning theory, curriculum and instruction. Respondents agree that these are important considerations. They distinguish individual schools from one another, but not entire school sectors.

Catholic and independent schools tend to be a bit more traditional in their teaching and learning methods than their government school counterparts. But very experimental schools also can be found in the non-government sector. There is no one Catholic curriculum or government school teaching method. Teaching method, then, seems to be more a matter of pragmatism than of social class, philosophy or religion. And different forms of pedagogy are adaptable to a wide variety of school administrative forms.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Annual Report 1978-79. Education Department of Victoria. Melbourne: Government Printer, 1980.

Austin, Albert G. *Australian Education, 1788-1900: Church, State And Public Education in Colonial Australia*. Carlton, Vic.: Pitman Press, 1972.

Austin, A.G. and Selleck, R.J.W. *The Australian Government School, 1830-1914: Select Documents With Commentary*. Carlton, Vic.: Pitman Press, 1975.

Baumgart, Neil. "Survey of Public Opinions About Schools in New South Wales." Australian College of Education, New South Wales Chapter. Macquarie University, 1979.

Blakers, C. *The Commonwealth Role in School Education*. Melbourne: Australian Council of State School Organisations, 1978.

The Christian Community Schools Movement. Canberra: Commonwealth Schools Commission (unpublished paper) 1981.

Clark, Manning. *Occasional Writings And Speeches*. Sydney: Fontana Collins, 1980.

Coons, John and Sugarman, Stephen. *Education By Choice: The Case For Family Control*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1978.

Cremin, Lawrence A. *A History of Education in the American Culture.* New York: Holt Rinehart Winston, 1953.

Dexter, Lewis A. *Elite and Specialised Interviewing*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1970.

Education Vouchers, A Report on Financing Elementary Education by Grants to Parents. Cambridge, MA: Center for the Study of Public Policy, 1970.

Ely, Jean. *Reality and Rhetoric: An Alternative History of Australian Education*. Marrickville, N.S.W.: Southwood Press, 1978.

Fogarty, Ronald. *Catholic Education in Australia*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1959. (2 volumes)

Friedman, Milton. *Capitalism and Freedom*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962.

Glazer, Barney and Strauss, Anselm. *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*. Chicago: Aldine, 1967.

Greeley, Andrew; McCready, William and McCourt, Kathleen. *Catholic Schools in A Declining Church*. Kansas City: Sheed and Ward, Inc. 1976.

Greeley, Andrew and Rossi, Peter. *The Education of Catholic Americans*. Chicago: Aldine, 1966.

Harrold, Ross. "Central Intervention In A Non-Centralised System." (unpublished paper) Armidale, N.S.W. Centre for Administrative Studies, University of New England, 1981.

Higley, John; Deacon, Desley and Smart, Don. *Elites in Australia.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979.

Hind, Ian W. "Estimates Of Cost Functions For Primary Schools in Rural Areas." *Australian Journal of Agricultural Economics* 21 (i) 1977 pp.13-25.

Hunt, William; Wilder, Crane and Wahlke, John. "Interviewing Political Elites in Cross-Cultural Comparative Research". American Journal of Sociology LXIX (1954).

Jones, Albert W. *Ebb and Flow: Papers and Addresses*. Adelaide: Education Department of South Australia, 1977.

Jones, Thomas H. "Federal Mandates and the Future of Public Schools" in *The Nationalization of State Government*. J. Hanus (ed.) Lexington, MA: Lexongton Books pp.105-129.

Kamin, Johnathan and Erickson, Donald. "Parent Choice of Schooling in British Columbia: Preliminary Findings." Paper for presentation at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, 1981.

Katz, Michael B. *Class Bureaucracy And Schools: The Illusion of Change in America*. New York: Praeger, 1975.

Knott, A.E; Tronc, K.E. and Middleton, J.L. *Schools and the Law*. St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1980.

Lawry, J.R. "The Free, Compulsory and Secular Acts Reassessed." Melbourne: University of Melbourne Press, *Melbourne Studies in Education, 1972*. pp.211-227

McGrath, Helen. *The Impact of Recent Federal Government Policy Shifts: A Study of Perceptions*. Canberra: Education Research And Development Committee Report No. 12, Australian Government Publishing Service, 1977.

Nehrt, Roy. *Private Schools in American Education*. Washington, D.C.: National Center For Educational Statistics, 1981.

Noah, Harold and Sherman, Joel. *OECD Financing and Policy Goals For Primary Schools, General Report*. Paris: Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, 1979.

Partridge, Percy. *Society, Schools and Progress in Australia*. New York: Pergamon Press, 1973.

Praetz, Helen. Building A School System: A Sociological Study of Catholic Education. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1980.

Religion in Education in New South Wales Government Schools. A Report of the Committee Appointed By The Minister of Education To Consider Religious Education. Sydney: Ministry of Education, 1980.

Report for the Triennium, 1982-1984. Canberra: The Schools Commission, 1981.

Sherman, Joel. Federal Education Policy in Australia: Implications for the United States. Washington: National Institute of Education, 1981.

Simpkins, William S. "The Australian Literature on Educational Administration: Power, Participation And School Management." Journal of Administration, Occasional Paper No. 1, Armidale: Centre for Administrative Studies, University of New England, 1981.

Smart, Don. Federal Aid to Australian Schools. St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1978.

Smolicz, J. and Moody, J.M. "Independent Schools As Cultural Systems." Melbourne: University of Melbourne Press, Melbourne Studies in Education, 1978.

"Submission to the Minister For Education Concerning the Schools Commission's Report For The 1982-84 Triennium." Canberra: Australian Teachers' Federation, 1981.

Tannock, Peter D. The Government of Education in Australia: The Origins of Federal Policy. Nedlands: University of Western Australia Press, 1975.

U.S. Australian Education Policy Project Reports. CERAS Building Stanford University, Stanford, CA.

Ward, Russel. Australia. Sydney: URE Smith, 1967.

Williams, Trevor et. al. School Work and Career. Australian Council for Educational Research, Monograph No. 6, 1978.

THE INDIAN UNIVERSITY GRANTS COMMISSION: AN INSTRUMENT OF NATIONAL POLICY

DORA BRIGGS and PETER O'BRIEN

Introduction

In a recent issue of Vestes, the journal of the Federation of Australian University Staff Associations, the former Vice-Chancellor of the University of Sydney claimed that "the forms and extent of recent (Federal) Government intrusions into the academic activities of universities must be regarded as very unfavourable developments".[1] Government intervention in this sector of education has been justified on such grounds as needs to develop a national policy for Australian universities so as to prevent unnecessary duplication and wastage of resources, to increase postgraduate and research activities, to widen opportunities to participate in education and to provide courses and programmes of research designed to meet national interests.

Although in India there are entrenched interests which are equally critical of attempts by the Centre (i.e., the Union Government) to influence developments in higher education, similar justifications for such intervention have been made. For instance in 1973 Daulat Singh Kothari, then Chairman of India's University Grants Commission and of the National Council for Science Education, began a paper with these words:

> Higher education is in a state of crisis. It is almost a universal phenomenon and in India it is no exception. It is a recurrent theme of conferences and committees the world over. To recall one of the latest, there was at Mysore in January 1971 a conference on management and organization of Indian universities. The conference was attended by several vice-chancellors and prominent educationists. It was inaugurated by the Union Minister for Education. A widely shared view at the conference was that Indian higher education, rooted in the colonial past, was totally outmoded and chaotic, wasteful and uncreative. It was apparent that nothing less than a radical reform of the system was called for. What was not apparent was the shape and nature of the reform. What exactly was to be done? Who should do it? What about the resources?[2]

This paper sets out to describe the functions of the Indian University Grants Commission (U.G.C.) which has played a cardinal role in the implementation of Union policy with regard to this sector.

The U.G.C.

Founded in 1953 and created a statutory authority in 1956, the U.G.C. was established to discharge the Centre's special responsibility for the coordination, maintenance and determination of standards in higher education. It was empowered to take "in consultation with the Universities and other bodies concerned, all such steps as it may think fit for the promotion and coordination of University education and for the determination and maintenance of standards of teaching, examination and research in Universities" (Section 12 of the U.G.C. Act). It is an autonomous body, receiving its funding from the Centre, and according to a past chairman:

> the basic idea governing its working is that developmental plans for education and formulation of policy are left to a "judgment by peers". It is a system which enables universities to have an effective share in formulation of major education policies and distribution of funds. The Commission functions through committees - review committees, visiting committees and other special committees - composed largely of university men.[3]

According to the Performance Budget statement for 1983084 of the Ministry of Education and Culture, the current guiding principle in Indian higher education is that of consolidation. The areas which are being given special attention by the U.G.C. are improvement of quality, support for research, and development of universities and colleges.[4] Priority is also being given to the development of higher education among women, and to improving the facilities available for Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribes candidates.

Financial Assistance

In the performance of its functions the U.G.C. sanctions grants to the following categories of institutions:

1a) seven Central universities established by Acts of the Indian Parliament, i.e., Aligarh Muslim University, University of Delhi, Hyderabad University, North Eastern Hill University (in Meghalaya), Visva Bharati (in Bengal), Banaras Hindu University and Jawaharlal Nehru University (New Delhi).

1b) eight institutions deemed to be universities.

These two groups of institutions are funded by the U.G.C. with respect to both maintenance and development.

2) eighty State universities, four institutions deemed to be universities and such of the 3540 affiliated colleges as fulfil the criteria of eligibility.

These receive funds from the U.G.C. for development.

3) fifty-four colleges affiliated or maintained by the University of Delhi.

These receive their maintenance funding from the U.G.C.

It should be explained that a common pattern of university governance for Indian universities resembles that of London University, with teaching colleges affiliated to the university and some teaching work, especially at the postgraduate level, undertaken directly by the university. There are also some universities where all the teaching and research is done on one campus, and others of a federal type with a number of colleges closely associated with the work of the university. The phrase "institutions deemed to be universities" refers to the provisions of the U.G.C. Act which states that a degree can be awarded only by a university established by an act of legislature, or by an institution especially empowered by Parliament to award degrees, or by an institution deemed to be a university on the advice of the U.G.C. This last provision was intended to enable some well-established institutions of higher learning and research to award their own degrees without having to go through the process of having a law enacted. A dozen such institutions have been "deemed" to be universities under the provision of this clause, including the Tata Institute of Social Sciences (Bombay), Birla Institute of Technology (Pilani), and the Indian Agricultural Research Institute (New Delhi).

The U.G.C. makes grants to universities for development and special purposes on the basis of its own calculation of needs. Development programmes implemented by the U.G.C. fall broadly into four categories, which are as follows:

1) Special Programmes for Improvement of Quality
2) Support for Research
3) Development of Universities
4) Development of Colleges

Special Programmes for Improvement of Quality

The policy document formulated and published by the U.G.C. for discussion at a Conference of Vice-Chancellors held at Rajkot in 1977[5] drew attention to the importance of the U.G.C's role in promoting high quality research in universities and to encouragement of applied research with an immediate impact on the social and economic conditions of the people. Assistance is provided to selected university departments for the development of training and research programmes in selected fields. It is provided at three levels depending upon the developmental stage of the department. Centres for Advanced Study are selected departments provided with financial assistance to encourage the pursuit of "excellence" and team work in research. Criteria for the selection of these Centres are: reputation, quality and extent of work, contribution to research and potential for further development. Each Centre represents a focus of study for the whole of India, e.g., the Centre for Advanced Study in Education is the Department of Education at the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, which concentrates on educational research.

Departments which are capable of becoming Centres for Advanced Study are also funded by the U.G.C. as Departments of Special Assistance. Funding arrangements for Centres and Departments are currently under review.

Support is also provided by the U.G.C. for departmental research. Under this scheme assistance is given to selected departments for specifically identified, time-restricted projects. Money is provided for equipment and research staff required for the project. Departments receiving research support may, depending on their achievements, be upgraded to the next level.

Thirteen other categories of programmes for the improvement of quality, ranging from merit promotion schemes to wildlife studies to bilateral exchange programmes, are also supported.

Support for Research

The U.G.C. Research Support programme has included funding for 286 major Science and 25 major Humanities and Social Sciences projects in 1982-83, at a cost of Rs. 22,800,000. Funding was also provided for 1021 minor projects (at a cost of Rs. 5,350,000), and for Scholarships and Fellowships.[6]

Development of Universities and Colleges

Under the Sixth Development Plan, Committees of the U.G.C. visit universities and colleges to determine grants for their development in particular fields such as Humanities, Science and Engineering and Technology.

Other U.G.C. Initiatives

In addition to the support given to universities and colleges to enlarge and improve their equipment and facilities, the U.G.C. makes special grants to individuals and institutions for such purposes as:

a) personal research and publication

b) travel for academic purposes

c) holding of seminars and conferences

d) support for visiting experts and specialists

The U.G.C. has also been instrumental in improving and rationalising the salaries of teachers in universities and affiliated institutions; in organising summer schools in English, mathematics and other subjects for the benefit of college teachers and postgraduate students; in providing financial assistance to colleges and universities for the construction of student hostels; and in giving support for students' aid funds established to help poor students with tuition and examination fees and book grants. Retired teachers are awarded grants for preparation of university-level books, education and research projects.

Programmes of Positive Discrimination

Two programmes to improve the education of under-represented sections of the population have been implemented by the U.G.C. The first relates to positive efforts to encourage higher education among women by increasing their enrolment in universities and colleges. The second relates to access to higher education for members of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. In providing special financial assistance to universities and colleges for courses to meet the needs of these candidates the U.G.C. is implementing a decision of the Central Government. In the Sixth Plan period the U.G.C. envisages outlaying approximately Rs. 710,000,000 for this purpose.[7]

Discussion

In a paper presented in 1983 at the 53rd ANZAAS Congress held in Perth, Campbell[8] claimed:

> Certain factors seem to stand out as important for those who wish to put comparative study of administrative structure issues to use within their own environment. These may be summarised as follows:
>
> 1. Study the issue or pattern firstly in the context of similar institutions or issues in states which closely equivalent economic and socio-political backgrounds;
> 2. Study the issue or institution secondly in the context of states with differing backgrounds;
> 3. Study the success or failure stories in relation to the problem area and identify those elements or factors pivotal to success or failure;
> 4. Evaluate the effect of salient environmental factors in the national system upon the acceptability of change, and the implementation of any innovation perceived as necessary to the local system and provide a monitoring mechanism to evaluate improvement or deterioration.

With these points in mind the writers suggest the following observations on the functions of the U.G.C. which may serve to illuminate any comparative study on the function of equivalent instrumentalities.

Although it is an autonomous body the U.G.C. is a channel for Central Government policy; a fact which is particularly evident in the programme to assist candidates from scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. The U.G.C. is answerable to the Union Parliament, and the standards which it is responsible for promoting are those laid down by the Centre. Its Chairman is a member of the Central Advisory Board of Education, the highest advisory body on education to the Government of India, and since its inception it has been the major agency discharging Central Government responsibilities in higher education. By contrast, the Australian Universities Commission was set up to advise the Federal Government on:

a) the necessity for financial assistance and the conditions upon which any financial assistance should be granted and

b) the amount and allocation of financial assistance.
(Australian Universities Commission Act, No.30, 1959)

It is only in recent years that its successor, the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission, has "functioned as an arm of government".[9]

It is interesting to note that the Centres for Advanced Study Programmes amd similar projects for the support of research and postgraduate teaching were first established in India in 1963-64 as part of the avowed upgrading of Indian higher education. Similar developments did not take place in Australia until 1981-82 when the Fraser Liberal Government established "Centres for Research Excellence" at selected institutions.

Although the constitutional bases for the coordination and control of higher education in India and Australia differ, both Governments have used remarkably similar means to attempt to mould the forms of higher education in their respective countries. In Australia the most significant of the means adopted by the Federal Government was the assumption of responsibility for higher education funding. In India the Central Government uses grants for development and other purposes. Simply put, both Governments have attempted to use the power of the purse. How productive this attempt has been in Australia we leave others to judge. In India the fact that the constituent States retain the right to establish new institutions and provide the bulk of maintenance funds has led to the prolific growth of new institutions in defiance of the Central Government's wishes. This contrasts markedly with the situation in Australia where the Federal Government used its monopoly of funding to force amalgamations of institutions established by State legislation.

Twenty years after its foundation the U.G.C's Chairman, Kothari, was lamenting that higher education in India was still in a state of crisis. Another ten years on, in 1983, the radical reform for which he was calling has still not been achieved, and the university system has failed to withstand the pressures which cause university colleges to proliferate and vast numbers of students to graduate from courses inappropriate to the needs of the society where they are to struggle for employment. Nevertheless the U.G.C. has a record of achievements in developing certain outstanding institutions and activities and in promoting the interests of disadvantaged groups. It will be interesting to compare the record of the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission after an equal length of time.

References

1. Williams, Bruce (1982) Governments and Universities since 1959, Vestes 25, 1.3-11.

2. Kothari, D.S. (1973) National systems abroad: India, in Perkins, James A. (ed.) (1973) Higher Education: from Autonomy to Systems, Washington D.C. : Voice of America, p.217.

3. Kothari, D.S. (1973) National systems abroad: India, in Perkins, James A. (ed.) (1973) Higher Education: from Autonomy to Systems, Washington D.C. : Voice of America, p.225.

4. India, Ministry of Education and Culture, Department of Education (1983) Performance Budget 1983-84 New Delhi: Government of India, Ministry of Education and Culture.

5. India, University Grants Commission (1978) Development of higher education in India - a policy frame, New Frontiers in Education, 8.2. 48-65.

6. India, Ministry of Education and Culture (1983) Annual Report, 1982-83 New Delhi: Government of India, Ministry of Education and Culture, p.28.

7. India, Ministry of Education and Culture (1983) Annual Report, 1982-83 New Delhi: Government of India, Ministry of Education and Culture, p.26.

8. Campbell, M.J. (1983) Comparative studies in public administration: the development of new paradigms. Paper presented at the 53rd ANZAAS Congress, Perth, May 1983, pp.11-12.

9. Bessant, B. (1982) The erosion of university autonomy in Australia, Vestes, 25, 1.26-33.

MODELS OF UNIVERSITY GOVERNANCE IN AUSTRALIA AND SRI LANKA

D. THENUWARA GAMAGE

In this paper, university governance prevailing in selected universities in Australia and Sri Lanka will be discussed. It is proposed to deal with the central and/or co-ordinating organizational structures and authorities in the first instance. Subsequently, the systems of governance will be analysed with special reference to general, academic and student administration of the respective universities. An attempt will also be made to distinguish similarities, differences and special features of the two systems of university governance.

Australia, the vast island continent is, of course, a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and a parliamentary democracy, having a federal form of government with six states and two territories. Sri Lanka, on the other hand, is a small island with a land area of only 65,610 square kilometres[1] containing about the same number of people as Australia. It too is a member of the British Commonwealth. It is a republic, having a presidential form of government with a unitary state. In Australia there are nineteen universities with a student population of 163,156 and seventy degree granting colleges of advanced education (CAE'S) with 159,146 students,[2] while there are only six universities, two university colleges and an Open University with 18,581 students in conventional universities and an enrolment of 3,654 students at the Open University of Sri Lanka.[3] The first university in Australia - the university of Sydney - was established in the British colony of New South Wales in 1850[4] while the first university in Sri Lanka - the university of Ceylon - was established by the colonial rulers in 1942.[5] In Australia, where education is a state responsibility, eighteen universities were established by the Acts of State Parliaments while the university in the Capital Territory was established by the Federal Parliament. Sri Lanka, being a unitary state, has all universities and university colleges governed by a single Parliamentary Statute. Both university systems of governance were influenced by the British traditions and practices at the commencement under colonial rule. However, the development of the two systems should be viewed against the background of Australia being a developed country with a vast majority of its population concentrated in the capital cities; whereas, Sri Lanka, is a developing country, with a vast majority of its population living in rural areas.

As far as Australia is concerned the federal government, known as the Commonwealth, was established in 1901, after the establishment of the three oldest universities: Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide in New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia respectively. The universities of Tasmania, Queensland and Western Australia were established after the formation of the Commonwealth but before the commencement of the First World War.[6] The models of governance in the first three universities were influenced by the reforms of Oxford, Cambridge and also ancient Scottish universities whereas the latter were influenced by universities like Manchester and Liverpool and some American universities. Women students were admitted to Melbourne in 1874 and to Sydney in 1881. In 1930s, university colleges were opened in Canberra and Armidale. None of the universities were large and even at the commencement of second world war, Sydney and Melbourne had only about 4000 students, while Tasmania and Western Australia, each had less than 1000 students. The universities were dominated by British tradition and practices. However, an era of unprecedented change and expansion came after the second world war. Student numbers, which stood at 25,500 in 1946, more than doubled in 14 yrs. and then doubled again in another 10 yrs., reaching a figure of 163,000 by 1980. Accompanying this phenomenal growth was an expansion in graduate work and research. There were over 20,000 post-graduate students by 1980. The Australian National University and University of New South Wales were established in 1946 and 1949 respectively while eleven other universities were opened between 1958 and 1975.[7] The need to have larger universities and the emphasis on research led to the modification of the strongly British models of governance with influences from the United States of America (USA).

Education was the constitutional responsibility of the individual state governments and it was only from the 1940s that the federal government began to provide substantial financial assistance to universities so that the Commonwealth could help them to meet war time demands and the post war influx of students. This ad-hoc arrangement was reviewed by the Murray Committee of 1957 leading to the establishment of the Australian Universities Commission in 1959. The Universities Commission was expected to advise the federal government, after consultation with the states, in order to ensure balanced development of Australian universities, so that their resources could be utilised to the greatest possible advantage.[8] From 1959 the federal government provided matching grants of dollar to dollar for capital and a dollar for $1.85 of state for recurrent expenditure of the universities.[9] Finally, in 1974, with the abolition of student fees, the federal government assumed the full responsibility for both capital and recurrent expenditure of universities. Subsequently, the new Tertiary Education Commission was established in 1977 for the purpose of promoting the balanced and co-ordinated development of the provision of tertiary education in diversifying such opportunities on the advice of the three separate Councils for Universities, the Colleges of Advanced Education (CAES) and Technical and Further Education (TAFE) within the framework of the Commission. Its prime function is to inquire into and advise the federal government with regard to the necessity for and the condition of financial assistance to the above sectors based on the recommendations of the respective Council. The Commission has a full-time Chairman, three other full-time commissioners (3 chairmen of Councils) and five part-time commissioners. Each Council is headed by a full-time commissioner and has eight part-time members drawn from tertiary institutions, industry, professions or trade unions and in the case of CAES and TAFE Councils, the government. The Commission make recommendations for the allocation of capital and recurrent grants on the basis of guidelines issued by the federal minister of education.[10]

The state governments have been slower than the federal government in recognizing the need to set up statutory agencies for tertiary education. Recently, state governments have accepted the need to establish machinery to advise on priorities and needs for each of the three sectors of post-secondary education and achieve better over-all co-ordination. Victoria, South Australia and Western Australia have now established statutory bodies with responsibilities for co-ordination across all three sectors, while in Tasmania, a Tertiary Education Commission with similar responsibilities has been established on the basis of a Cabinet minute. Since 1975, NSW has a Higher Education Board with responsibilites for both universities and CAES. In 1976, Queensland set up a non-statutory body to advise the minister of education on over-all tertiary education co-ordination.[11] It appears that universities used to value their direct relationship with the Universities Council of the Tertiary Education Commission while being suspicious of the state co-ordinating bodies as they could lead to the reduction of university autonomy and slow down communication and decision making.

On the other-hand, the Sri Lankan counterpart of the Australian Tertiary Education Commission and Universities Council, the University Grants Commission (UGC) has much wider powers. It consists of a full-time chairman who is also the secretary to the Ministry of Higher Education and four other part-time commissioners. Section 2 of the Universities Act of 1978 states that the UGC is created to achieve the following objects:

1) The planning and co-ordination of university education so as to conform to national policy;

2) the apportionment to Higher Educational Institutions, of the funds voted by Parliament in respect of university education, and the control of expenditure by each such higher educational institution;

3) the maintenance of academic standards in Higher Educational Institutions;

4) the regulation of the administration of Higher Educational Institutions;

5) the regulation of the admission of students to each higher educational institution; and

6) the exercise, performance and discharge of such powers, duties and functions as are conferred, or imposed on, or assigned to, the Commission by or under the Act.

In keeping with the above objects, Sections 12, and 15 of the Act, have vested the UGC with wide ranging powers, duties and functions. In terms of these powers the UGC is vested with authority not only to apportion the funds available between the Higher Educational Institutions but also to control such expenditure in detail by approving each and every expenditure item of a university. As far as academic matters are concerned, the UGC is authorised to determine the courses to be provided, degrees and diplomas to be awarded; the number of students to be admitted, apportionment of them between courses and their selection; recognition of foreign academic qualifications and student discipline in consultation with the universities concerned. In the case of general administration of universities too, the UGC is responsible for the determination of the schemes of recruitment for both academic and non-academic grades; remuneration and other benefits payable to staff, the appointment and transfer of all administrative officers in university service other than the Registrar and the Bursar of a university.

Apart from the powers vested in the UGC the Minister of Higher Education, too enjoys wide powers under certain circumstances. In terms of section 20 of the Universities Act, the Minister is authorised to issue written directions to the UGC with regard to finances, number of university places, medium of instruction and other questions relating to the activities of the universities. More importantly, where the Minister is satisfied that, due to any strike or lock-out or any other cause, the work or administration of a university is disrupted, he has the authority either to close the university or to remove the Vice-Chancellor and dissolve the governing authority and appoint any person by name or office to be a Competent Authority to exercise and perform all such powers and functions, in lieu of any officer, authority or body of a university.[12] During the last four and half years, there had been two such instances in the Sri Lankan university system.[13]

The Australian Vice-Chancellors Committee (AVCC), whose aim is to provide opportunities for the executive heads of the universities to discuss matters of mutual concern, to study the problems and needs of universities in general so that they could offer advice to their respective governing bodies and on occasions to the government or government agencies in a inter-university co-ordinating body. Since 1973, it has been incorporated under the Australian Capital Territory's Companies Ordinance and has an executive committee which meets five times a year in between full committee meetings. The AVCC is also responsible for the organization of programmes for the training of administrative officers in the university service. The conference of university Registrars is another co-ordinating body which meets under the auspices of the AVCC.[14] Apart from these bodies, each university has its own academic staff association and these are linked nationally in the Federation of Australian University Staff Associations (FAUSA) which co-operates with the AVCC and the Australian Union of Students (AUS) in representing social and economic interests of the universities and that of the academic and student communities to the government. These bodies have great influence in the governance and administration of the universities.[15] The Sri Lankan counterpart called the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Directors (CVCD) has been established for the purpose of considering all matters of common interest to the universities and university colleges and advising the UGC.[16] Unlike the AVCC, the CVCD is not a statutory body and has no permanent secretariate. It meets once a month in the universities and colleges in rotation to discuss and render advice on common issues and matters referred to it by the UGC.

A special feature in the Sri Lankan system is the University Services Appeals Board consisting of a Chairman, a Vice-Chairman and another member, all of whom are appointed by the Minister. The Appeals Board is empowered to conduct investigations on complaints against appointments and promotions made by the UGC or a Higher Educational Institution in contravention of the schemes of recruitment and the procedure for appointment in force at the time, such appointments or promotions were made. Further it is authorised to consider appeals against dismissals, compulsory retirements and other punishments imposed on the employees. The decisions of the Appeals Board are binding on the Chairman of the UGC and governing authorities of the Higher Educational Institutions. It is a quasi-judicial body independent of the UGC and the universities, serving as a final board of appeal.[17]

Now, if we look at the Australian university system in general with the exception of the Australian National University, all other universities appear to be similar to each other with regard to organizational arrangements and type of courses offered. However, a closer examination shows several differences. The Commonwealth University Year Book has grouped these into five. First group includes the six oldest universities, set up before the First World War, namely:

Sydney (1850) Melbourne (1853) Adelaide (1874) Tasmania (1890) Queensland (1909) and Western Australia (1911). These universities are established on the traditional pattern of faculties and departments of study. Each one has long established professional schools and a strong committment to research. The second group includes New South Wales (1949) and Monash (1958). These two universities have been established to meet the increasing demand for university places in Sydney and Melbourne with a strong committment for technological fields and research. The third group consisting of La Trobe (1964) Macquarie (1964) Flinders (1966) Griffith (1971) and Murdock (1973) are referred to as the new capital city universities of the 1960s and 1970s. Their organizational arrangements and academic programmes have been influenced by the new red-brick universities of the United Kingdom. They have opted for schools and boards of studies rather than faculties and departments. The fourth group consisting of: New England (1954) at Armidale, James Cook (1970) at Townsville, Newcastle (1965) Deakin (1974) at Geelong and Wollongong (1975) are referred to as regional universities. The Australian National University being unique, is referred to as a separate fifth category.[28] Having grouped the nineteen universities into five categories, the author proposes to examine one model from each of the above categories in brief and discuss certain common features subsequently.

THE UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY

The University of Sydney was incorporated by an Act of Parliament of New South Wales in October 1850 as the first university in Australia. The subsequent amendments to the Act have been consolidated in the University and University Colleges Act of 1900. The Governing authority of the University is the Senate, constituted of thirty-two Fellows as indicated in Table I. The Senate is vested with the authority for the entire management of and superintendence over the affairs, concerns and property of the University in order to promote the purposes for which the University has been established. The Chancellor, who is elected by the Senate presides over its meetings. A Deputy Chancellor who presides in the absence of the Chancellor too is elected by the Senate from among its Fellows. The Vice-Chancellor and Principal who is the Chief Executive Officer of the University is appointed by the

TABLE 1

THE MODELS OF GOVERNANCE OF AUSTRALIAN UNIVERSITIES

	The University of Sydney	Monash University	Flinders University	James Cook University	Australian National Univ.
Establishment of the University	University of Sydney Act of 1850 and Universities and Colleges Act of 1900 of NSW.	Monash University Act of 1958 - Victoria	Flinders University of South Australia Act 1966 - 1973.	James Cook University of North Queensland Act of 1970. (Univ. College of Townsville incorporated) The CAE Townsville was amalgamated in 1982.	Australian National University Act of 1946. Canberra University College was incorporated in 1960.
Governing Authority and its Composition	SENATE: Chancellor (Chairman); Vice-Chancellor; 4 fellows appointed by the Minister; 2 members of parliament; Chairman Academic Board; 3 professors; 3 non-professorial teachers; 1 non-academic; 10 graduates of the university; 3 enrolled students and 3 fellows elected by the above fellows. (32 members)	COUNCIL: Chancellor (Chairman); Vice-Chancellor; 6 appointed by Governor; 3 members of parliament; 2 graduates of the university; 7 elected by the faculties from outside the university; 4 professors, 3 non-professorial staff; 2 deans; 1 non-academic; 3 students; 4 co-opted by the Council and Director General of Education or Deputy appointed by the Minister. (38 members)	COUNCIL: Chancellor (Chairman); Vice-Chancellor; President of SRC ex-officio; 5 members of parliament; 3 appointed by Governor two of whom are nominees of Chamber of Commerce and Trades and Labour Council; 8 academics, 1 non-academic; 4 elected by Convocation; 4 students and 3 co-opted by Council (31 members)	COUNCIL: Chancellor (Chairman); Vice-Chancellor; Regional Director of Ed., Chairman of Academic Board ex-officio; 4 academics; 1 appointed by Staff Association; 3 - 1 student 1 graduate and 1 postgraduate appointed by Union Council; 11 appointed by Governor; 7 elected by Convocation and 3 to be appointed by Council (33 members)	COUNCIL: Chancellor, Pro-Chancellor; Vice-Chancellor; Deputy Vice-Chancellor; Deputy Chairmen of the Institute and the School; and President of ANU student association ex-officio; 4 members of parliament; 12 appointed by G.G.; 2 heads of Research Schools; 2 deans; 2 professors; 4 non-professorial academics; 3 students; 4 by Convocation and 2 co-opted by Council (42 members)
Academic Organization	Academic Board; 10 Faculties; 4 Boards of Study and Departments.	Professorial Board, 7 Faculties and Departments.	Academic Committee; 8 Schools and 1 Board of Study	Academic Board; five Faculties and Departments	Professorial Board, an Institute of Advanced Studies and School of General Studies. Several Research and service centres and units.
Senior Academic Body and its Composition	ACADEMIC BOARD: Chancellor Vice-Chancellor; Deputy Vice-Chancellor; Deputy Pr; Deputy Chancellor and Registrar ex-officio; professors; librarian; director of Adult Educ.; deans of faculties; chairmen of boards of studies; heads of departments or schools; a number equal to one third the number of professors elected by non-professorial academics; 26 undergraduates; 5 post-graduates.	PROFESSORIAL BOARD: Vice-Chancellor; professors; librarian; Directors of Research and Services Centres; 7 non-professorial academics and 4 students.	ACADEMIC COMMITTEE: Vice-Chancellor; the Chairman, the Vice-Chairman and a representative of each School, Chairman of Board of Study, Chairmen of Library and Research committees; Librarian, a Council member and 8 students	ACADEMIC BOARD: Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor Deputy Vice-Chancellor deans, heads of departments; chairmen of schools; librarian; 5 members of academic staff and 3 students	PROFESSORIAL BOARD: Vice-Chancellor, professors, Librarian; the Secretary and the Registrar.

	The University of Sydney	Monash University	Flinders University	James Cook University	Australian National Univ.
Machinery for Student Discipline	PROCTORIAL PANEL: Chairman of the Academic Board; 6 academics and 6 students elected by Academic Board. PROCTORIAL BOARD: Lawyer appointed by Senate (Chairman); 1 academic and 1 student from the Panel. APPEALS COMMITTEE: Chancellor and 7 fellows appointed by Senate.	DISCIPLINE COMMITTEE: Vice-Chancellor (Chairman) and 7 deans. Three constitute a quorum.	BOARD OF ENQUIRY: Lawyer nominated by Law Society South Australia (Chairman) 2 academics and 2 students. APPEALS COMMITTEE: 5 Council members including one student	COMMITTEE OF ENQUIRY: Chairman and two members appointed by Council aad 2 students A lawyer too is appointed when defence Council is a lawyer. APPEALS COMMITTEE: 3 Council members and a student	DISCIPLINE COMMITTEE: Vice-Chancellor; graduate student appointed by SRC; research student appointed by Research Students' Association and 3 members appointed by Council on advice of the Board of the Institute of School

Senate. He is assisted by a Deputy Vice-Chancellor and a Deputy Principal. A special feature in the University of Sydney is the combination of the posts of Assistant Vice-Chancellor and the Registrar. In 1852, the University had commenced with an enrolment of 24 students whereas the number shot up to 18,200 by 1982. The University staff including 1250 full-time academics (of whom 136 were professors) have increased to 4000 during the same period.[19]

The academic organisation of the University consists of an Academic Board, ten Faculties, four Boards of Study and over eighty Departments of Study. The Academic Board comprising of a large membership as shown in Table I is the Senior academic board of the University. A Chairman elected by the Board presides over its meetings. The Board is responsible for furthering and co-ordinating the work of the Faculties, the Boards of Studies and Departments and for encouraging scholarship and research. Considering the size of the Board, it is authorised to appoint an Executive Committee and Standing Committees and also to delegate authority to the Executive Committee. A faculty is comprised of all permanent members of the academic staff with certain other members appointed or nominated by the faculty or other faculties. A faculty is required to encourage teaching, scholarship and research in the Departments and Schools in the Faculty and co-operate with the other Faculties and also to report on all academic matters to the Academic Board. A Board of Study too has the same powers and functions as a faculty. The Dean of the Faculty presides over the Faculty while the Chancellor, the Deputy Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor, the Deputy Vice-Chancellor and the Registrar are ex-officio members of each faculty. The University too has a convocation which is authorised to elect a president and a standing committee of forty members.

Student discipline is dealt with by the Vice-Chancellor and/or the Proctorial Panel appointed by the Senate. The Proctorial Panel consists of the Chairman of the Academic Board, six members of the academic staff and six students elected by the Academic Board from amongst them. In addition the Senate appoints several lawyers of, at least five years standing to be Chairmen of Proctorial Boards once they are constituted. On receipt of an allegation of misconduct against a student, the Chairman of the Proctorial Panel constitute a Proctorial

Board consisting of a lawyer appointed by the Senate as the Chairman and two others from the panel, a student and an academic. The students are allowed to retain lawyers for their defence. An Appeals Committee of the Senate, consisting of the Chancellor and seven other Fellows, hear appeals against determinations of the Vice-Chancellor or Proctorial Boards or any penalties imposed. The University has a Union as the common meeting ground for all members of the university. The Union is a self-governing body, control being vested in a Board of Directors. The Student Representative Council (SRC) of the University consists of all undergraduate students and they elect an Executive Committee and officers to run the organisation. The Sydney University Post-graduate Representative Association (SUPRA) represents the interests of higher degree and diploma students. The Sydney University Sports Union controls well over thirty affiliated clubs.[20]

MONASH UNIVERSITY

The Monash University was incorporated by an Act of Parliament of Victoria in April 1958. The governing authority of the University is the Council, consisting thirty-eight members as shown in Table I. The Council is vested with the authority for the entire management and superintendence of the affairs, concerns and property of the University. The Chancellor who presides over its meetings is elected by the Council and the Deputy Chancellor is elected from amongst them. The Council is authorised to constitute committees consisting wholly or partly of members of the Council or not and delegate any of its powers other than the power to delegate and make Statutes to any such committee of which half the members are from the Council or to any member of the Council or to any Officer of the University. The Vice-Chancellor is assisted by a Deputy Vice-Chancellor and a Pro-Vice-Chancellor. The University commenced teaching with ten professors and 363 students in 1961 where as the figures have increased to 105 and 14,000 by 1982.[21]

The academic organisation of the University consists of a Professorial Board and seven faculties. All faculties except Law and Education are sub-divided into departments. The Professorial Board, which is the senior academic body of the University, consists of the Vice-Chancellor ex-officio Chairman, all professors, the Librarian, the Directors of some of the Research and Service Centres of the University, seven elected by the non-professorial teaching staff and four students. The main responsibility of the Board is to submit recommendations to the Council on Courses of studies, examinations, admissions to degrees and discipline in the University while it is required to report on all matters referred to it by the Council. The Faculty Board, consisting of the Chancellor, the Deputy Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor, the Dean and Chairmen of Departments ex-officio, elected representatives of the Departments and certain inter-faculty representatives; is the governing authority of the Faculty. The Dean is appointed by the Council. He is the Chief Executive and Academic Officer of the Faculty and in that capacity presides over the Faculty Board. A special feature at Monash is that when an academic is appointed Dean, if he is not already a professor, the Council is required to appoint him a professor. A department in a faculty is headed by a Chairman, appointed by the Council - and is responsible for the academic and administrative affairs of the Department. He has to be a professor, reader or an associate professor. Each department appoints an Executive Committee of the Department. On the recommendation of a Faculty Board, the Council is empowered to appoint Associate Deans and Deputy Chairmen of Departments.

Student discipline is governed by the regulations made by the Professorial Board. The Discipline Committee of the University consists of the Vice-Chancellor and the Deans of the several faculties. Three members form a quorum and the Committee exercises general supervision over the conduct of students and reports confidentially to the Professorial Board and the Council on its proceedings. The Monash University Union consists of all students, staff, graduates and honorary members. The Union Board which is the governing authority is comprised of university and student representatives. The Monash Association of Students (MAS) consisting of all currently enrolled students is established as a means of communication between students and also to represent student interests to the authorities.[22]

FLINDERS UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA

The University of Adelaide at Bedford Park was incorporated as Flinders University under an Act of Parliament of South Australia in July 1966. The governing authority of the University is the Council comprising of thirty-one members as shown in Table I. The Chancellor and the Vice-Chancellor are elected by the Council. The Chancellor presides over its meetings. The Council appoints two Pro-Chancellors and two Pro-Vice-Chancellors. It is empowered to delegate any of its powers to any Officer or employee of the University. A special feature at Flinders is that in the absence of the Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor presides over its meetings. The Convocation of the University enjoys the powers of a bi-cameral legislature as no Statute or Regulation made by the Council comes into force until it is approved by the Convocation. The student numbers rose from 417 in 1966 to 3,789 by 1982.[23]

The academic organisation of the University consists of an Academic Committee, eight Schools and a Board of Study. The Academic Committee, which is the senior academic body of the University consists of the Vice-Chancellor (Chairman); the Chairman, the Vice-Chairman and a representative of each School; the Chairmen of the Research and the Library Advisory Committees, the Librarian, a Council member; the Chairman of the Board of Study and eight student representatives. The Academic Committee is a Committee of the Council with no independent status and is required to report on all recommendations of the Boards of the Schools and their Standing Committees and also the academic aspects of any other matter. Each School has a Board which advises the Council through the Academic Committee on all academic matters of the School. The Chancellor and the Vice-Chancellor are ex-officio members of all School Boards and includes four to eleven student representatives in addition to the members of the academic staff. Each faculty is required to appoint a small Standing Committee. The Chairman or the Vice-Chairman presides over the meetings of the School Board and the Standing Committee. Each School has several disciplines of study.

Student discipline is governed by the Statutes and Regulations made by the Council. Any complaints against breaches of discipline is summarily dealt with by the Vice-Chancellor, a Pro-Vice-Chancellor or a Chairman of a School, provided the offence committed is a minor one. But if the complaint cannot be dealt with summarily, the Officer concerned is required to refer the matter in writing to the Registrar who refers it to a properly constituted Board of Inquiry. A Board of Inquiry consists of a Chairman - a lawyer nominated by the President of the Law Society of South Australia, two full-time teachers and two students selected at random from two panels of fifty in each. The Vice-Chancellor appoints an administrative officer as the Secretary while the University too is represented by an officer. A student could be defended by a staff member, a student or a lawyer. The Appeals Committee of the Council consists of five members appointed by the Council from amongst them including one student member. The Flinders University Union is an Association comprising of all members of the University staff and students alike. The Union is managed by a Board elected by members, most of whom are students. The Flinders University Student Association consisting of all enrolled students (and past members if they wish) promotes the interests of the students. The management is entrusted to a Co-ordinating Group. The Co-ordinating Group is empowered to recognize Action Groups. The Council of the Sports Association consisting of university officials and students is responsible for the management and supervision of sports facilities and activities.[24]

JAMES COOK UNIVERSITY OF NORTH QUEENSLAND

James Cook University was formerly the University College of Townsville which enrolled its first students in 1961. The College was incorporated as a university by an Act of Parliament of Queensland in April 1970. Townsville CAE too was amalgamated in 1982. The Council is the governing authority of the University. It consists of thirty-three members as shown in Table I. The Chancellor who is elected by the Council presides over its meetings. The Deputy Chancellor is elected from amongst Council members. The Vice-Chancellor, who is the Chief Executive Officer of the University is appointed by the Council. He is assisted by a Deputy Vice-Chancellor and the Registrar. The Convocation is entitled to submit its recommendations concerning the affairs of the University and also to elect or appoint members to the Council. By 1982 the University had a student population of 3040.[25]

The academic organisation of the University consists of an Academic Board, five faculties and an Institute of Advanced Education. Each faculty is divided into several departments of study. The Academic Board which is the senior academic body of the University consists of the Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor, the Deputy Vice-Chancellor, the Deans of the Faculties, the Heads of Departments, the Chairmen of Schools, the Librarian, not more than five members of the academic staff and not more than three students. An elected chairman presides over its meetings. The Board is responsible for advising the Council on all academic matters and for the supervision and co-ordination of academic activities of the faculties, schools and departments. Each Faculty is headed by a Dean and he is assisted by a Deputy Dean. The Faculties are responsible to the Council through the Academic Board and is authorised to appoint a Faculty Committee, which acts on behalf of the Faculty and reports to the Faculty.

Breaches of discipline are dealt with by the Vice-Chancellor or an officer authorised by him. In case of more serious offences, a committee comprising of a chairman and two members appointed by the Council with two members appointed by the Students' Union conducts the inquiry. If a student is defended by a lawyer, the Council too appoints a lawyer to the Committee of Inquiry as an additional member. Appeals Committee comprising of a Chairman and two members appointed by the Council with another member appointed by the Students' Union, hears appeals against the decisions of the Committees of Inquiry or against penalties imposed. The Union of the University consists of all enrolled students and is managed by an executive elected by the Union.[26]

THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

The Australian National University was established by an Act of the Federal Parliament in the Capital Territory in 1946. The Council which is the governing authority of the University consists of forty-two members as shown in Table I. The Vice-Chancellor, who is the principal executive officer of the University, is appointed by the Council. He is assisted by a Deputy Vice-Chancellor and an Assistant Vice-Chancellor. A special feature in the administrative organisation is that the University has a Registrar, a Secretary, a Registrar

(Property and Plans) and an Academic Registrar. By 1979 the University had 360 research students and 5000 undergraduates.[22]

The academic organisation of the university consists of a Professorial Board, the Institute of Advanced Studies and the School of General Studies. In 1946 the University commenced as an institution committed to research only with four Schools of Research. Subsequently the University added three more research schools and the School of General Studies for undergraduates in 1960. The University also has a number of multi-disciplinary research centres and units and also a Centre for Continuing Education. The Professorial Board, which is the senior academic body of the University, consists of the Vice-Chancellor (Chairman), all professors of the University, the Librarian, the Secretary and the Registrar. The Professorial Board is empowered to advise the Council on any matter relating to education, learning or research or the academic work of the University. There are two Boards, one each for the Institute of Advanced Studies and the School of General Studies. Both boards are presided over by the Vice-Chancellor. The Deputy Vice-Chancellor, the Librarian and the Registrar being ex-officio members of both Boards. Each Board includes the Heads of Research Schools, the Heads of Departments, the Deans of Faculties, Heads of Departments, the Heads of Research and Service Centres within the Institute or the School as the case may be along with three members elected by the School's Board to the Institute Board and three members elected by the Institute's Board to the School Board. Each Board is required to advise the Council through the Professorial Board on all academic matters relating to the Board. A special feature in the Australian National University Convocation is that it has made provision for the representation of all other Australian Universities in the Convocation at the level of the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor or equivalent officers. The Convocation is empowered to appoint members to the Council and submit recommendations on matters concerning the University to the Council.

The breaches of student discipline is dealt with by the Head of the Department or the Head of the School in the first instance and more serious offences and appeals against their decisions are dealt with by the Directors of the Institute of Advanced Studies or Deans of Faculties of the School of General Studies or Dean of Students. Appeals against their decisions and penalties imposed are heard by the University Discipline Committee consisting of the Vice-Chancellor, a graduate student appointed by the Student Representative Council (SRC), a research student appointed by the Research Students" Association and not more than three members appointed by the Council on the advice of the Boards of the Institute and the School. The Dean of Students is responsible for the co-ordination and development of student services. The University Union is the main community centre. It is governed by a Board of Management consisting of representatives of the Council, undergraduates and staff. There are two students' associations known as the Australian National University Research Students' Association and the Australian National University Students' Association, through which the students express their views to the University authorities and promote their interests.[28]

Sri Lanka has been experimenting with four systems of university governance within a short period of four decades. In 1942, the University of Ceylon was established on the Oxbridge model with the Council as the governing authority and the Senate as the academic authority, the Vice-Chancellor being the Chief Academic and Administrative Officer while the University Court was a supervisory board as well as part of a bi-cameral legislature. In 1966, a multi-university structure was created under a National Council of Higher Education (NCHE), with a good proportion of university autonomy being vested in the NCHE and the Minister of Education. The Board of Regents was the governing authority while the Senate was the academic authority of a university. The entire Board of Regents including the Vice-Chancellor were appointed by the NCHE and the Minister. In 1972, the multi-university structure was replaced by a single university - the University of Sri Lanka by reducing the independent universities to the status of campuses of the single university. The University's governing authority was to be a Board of Governors consisting of certain ex-officio members including the Vice-Chancellor, Presidents of Campuses and some government officials, representatives of academic staff, a student and a representative of the non-academic staff while there was to be a Senate as the academic authority. There were Campus Boards at Campus level and campuses were headed by Presidents while the Univers-

TABLE 11

THE MODELS OF GOVERNANCE OF SRI LANKAN UNIVERSITIES

	The University of Peradeniya	Ruhunu University College	The Open University of Sri Lanka
Establishment of the University	The University of Ceylon Ordinance No. 20 of 1942 incorporated the Ceylon University College and the Ceylon Medical College as the University of Ceylon. This Ordinance was replaced in 1966, 1972 and 1978. Now it is incorporated under the Universities Act No. 16 of 1978.	The Ruhunu Campus was established under the University of Sri Lanka Act No. 1 of 1972 in 1978. It was incorporated as RUHUNU University College in January 1979 under the Universities Act No. 16 of 1978.	Established by a Ministerial Order made under Section 23 of the Universities Act No. 16 of 1978. The structure and the constitution was determi[illegible] by the Open University Ordinance No. 3 of 1980 made by UGC. The SLIDE and ESA were incorporated into the system by a Ministerial direction and a Resolution of the UGC.
Governing authority and its composition	COUNCIL: Vice-Chancellor (Chairman), Rector of Dumbara Campus, Dean of each Faculty ex-officio; 3 elected by the Senate and 14 appointed by UGC (25 members)	BOARD OF MANAGEMENT: Director (Chairman), Dean of each Faculty ex-officio and 8 appointed by UGC. (13 members)	COUNCIL: Vice-Chancellor, Director of each Board of Study, Secretaries or their nominees of the Ministries of Higher Education and Broadcasting ex-officio; 2 Vice-Chancellors nominated by CVCD and 6 appointed by UGC. A chairman is elected by the Council from among UGC appointees.
Academic Organization	Senate, 6 Faculties, one university campus, an Institute and Departments.	Academic Syndicate, Faculties and Departments	Council and two Boards of Studies

	The University of Peradeniya	Ruhuna University College	The Open University of Sri Lanka
Senior Academic Body and its Composition	SENATE: Vice-Chancellor (Chairman), Rector, Deans, Heads of Departments, Librarian and two teachers from each faculty elected from among their members	ACADEMIC SYNDICATE: Director (Chairman), Deans, Heads of Departments, Librarian, two representatives of each Senate of the Universities to which College is affiliated, and two teachers elected by each Faculty other than those who are Deans and Heads	COUNCIL: In the absence of a Senate, the academic authority too rests with the Council.
Machinery for Student Discipline	No statutory or Standing Committee. Vice-Chancellor is responsible for student discipline. UGC has the power to intervene.	No statutory or Standing Committee. Vice-Chancellor is responsible for student discipline. UGC has the power to intervene.	No statutory or Standing Committee. Vice-Chancellor is responsible for student discipline. UGC has the power to intervene.

ity was headed by a Vice-Chancellor.[29] However, this system was never implemented in full as the University was in transition from 1972 to 1978; authority being vested in the Vice-Chancellor and the Presidents appointed by the Minister. Finally, in 1979 this was replaced by a University Grants Commission with a multi-university structure along with a good number of features from the 1942 model of university governance. Thus, in 1983, Sri Lanka has six universities, two university colleges and an Open University under the purview of a University Grants Commission (UGC) enjoying wider powers than a traditional UGC. It is proposed to take three models of university governance within these nine institutions for discussion in this paper.

THE UNIVERSITY OF PERADENIYA

Originally the University of Ceylon was established in 1942 by the incorporation of the Ceylon Medical College (1870) and the Ceylon University College (1921).[30] The University commenced its work in Colombo and was shifted to Peradeniya by stages depending on the progress of the building programme. In 1972, it became the Peradeniya Campus of the University of Sri Lanka and then in terms of new university reforms introduced in 1979, re-named the University of Peradeniya. The entire university system in Sri Lanka is governed by the Universities Act No. 16 of 1978 as opposed to having nineteen separate Parliamentary Acts for Universities and a Tertiary Education Commission Act for the TEC in Australia. The Universities of Colombo, Sri Jayawardenepura, Kelaniya, Moratuwa and Jaffna have similar models of governance as that of Peradeniya with the exception of an additional campus. The governing authority of the University of Peradeniya is the Council. It consists of twenty-five members as shown in Table II. The UGC appointees are selected from among persons who have rendered distinguished service in educational, professional, commercial, industrial, scientific or administrative spheres. The Council is required to exercise the powers and perform and discharge the duties and functions conferred or imposed on or assigned to the University. However, the authority of the Council is limited by the provisions of the Act whereby substantial authority is vested in the Minister and the UGC. The University Court which is somewhat similar to the Australian Convocation is both a bi-cameral legislature as well as a review body. The Court consists of the Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor, the Members of the Council, the Dean of each Faculty ex-officio, six members of the Senate at the rate of one each for a faculty; two members of the teaching staff elected from amongst them who are not members of the Senate; two members; one of whom should be an administrative officer elected by the non-academic staff; two students elected by the Student Assembly; six Members of Parliament and eight members elected by eight professional and cultural Institutions as determined by the UGC. The Court is empowered to make Statutes on the basis of drafts submitted by the Council, to consider By-laws made by the Council, elect the Vice-Chancellor and consider the Annual Report including the Annual Accounts of the University. The Chancellor who presides over its meetings is nominated by the President of the Republic as opposed to being elected by the Council in the Australian system.

The academic organisation of the University is comprised of a Senate, six faculties, a University Campus (other than the main campus) and a Post-graduate Institute of Agriculture. Each faculty is subdivided into several departments of study. The Senate is the academic authority of the University and consisting of academics as shown in Table II. No provision has been made for student representation. The Senate is responsible for the control and general direction of instruction, education, research and examinations in the University. The Council is required to consult the Senate on all academic matters before a final decision is reached. A Dean who is elected by the faculty from among the Heads of Departments comprising a faculty is the Head of the faculty. A faculty consists of all professors, Associate professors, Senior Lecturers and Lecturers, two elected by the assistant lecturers, two elected by the staff imparting instructions other than above categories, two elected by the students of the faculty and three elected by the Faculty from among persons of eminence in areas of study relevant to the Faculty. The Faculty is responsible to the Senate on all academic matters of the Faculty. A Department of Study is headed by a Head of a Department appointed by the Council on the recommendation of the Vice-Chancellor. He has to be a teacher holding a rank not below that of Lecturer.[31]

The Dumbara Campus consists of only a faculty of Arts, subdivided into several Departments of Study.[32] It is headed by a Rector appointed by the Vice-Chancellor of the University. There is a Campus Board which is responsible for the internal administration and provision of general services and amenities to the staff of the campus subject to the approval of the Council of the University. The Campus Board is comprised of the Rector of the Campus, the Dean of each faculty, the Heads of Departments of Study, the Medical Officer of the Campus if any, or the Head of Health Service of the University, the Director of Physical Education of the Campus, if any or the Director of Physical Education of the University and a student representative of the Student Assembly of the Campus being one each for a faculty. The Rector presides at its meetings.[33] The Post-graduate Institute in Agriculture which is attached to the University of Peradeniya is headed by a Director who is appointed by the UGC from among a panel of three nominations submitted by the Board of Management of the Institute. The Board of Management consists of the Director of the Institute, the Secretary or his nominee of the Ministries in charge of Higher Education, Finance, Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Plantation Industry, the Directors of the Institutes of Coconut Research, Rubber Research and Tea Research, the Directors of Agriculture and Animal Production and Health, the Deputy Director of Agricultural Research, the Deans of the Faculties of Agricultural Research, the Deans of the Faculties of Agriculture and Veterinary Medicine and Animal Science of the University ex-officio and one member from each speciality in agriculture elected by the Faculty of Agriculture of the University with five members appointed by the UGC. The Board is responsible for the internal management, control and general direction of instruction, education, research and examinations in the Institute. The Institute has established six Boards of Study on each speciality in agriculture to be responsible for the academic matters relating to that speciality. Each Board of Study consists of the Director, four members of the speciality nominated by the Faculty of Agriculture and three appointed by the Board of Management.[34]

Student discipline is a matter for the Vice-Chancellor and the Council. The University has appointed a Director of student Welfare on a part-time basis. The Director who is a senior academic is assisted by several Student Councellors in the maintenance of student discipline. No statutory committee or other body has been set up for the purpose of conducting inquiries. However, ad-hoc committees of inquiries are set up, whenever the need arises. In cases of serious breaches of student discipline, the UGC has the right to intervene and cause investigations as well as to take remedial measures.[35] The University has a Student Assembly elected by the enrolled students on the basis of proportional representation. The minimum size of a Student Assembly is 25 elected representatives while the maximum size is 100. Peradeniya being the largest Sri Lankan University with 5412 students, has a Student Assembly of 100 representatives. The Student Assembly is required to elect a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, a Secretary and a Senior Treasurer. The Senior Treasurer is a member of the academic staff nominated by the Assembly and approved by the Vice-Chancellor. The Student Assembly is debarred from affiliating with any outside organisation or an student assembly of any other university. The Assembly is responsible for the promotion and safeguarding of the interests of the University and the promotion of corporate life and welfare of the student community while being a recognized means of communication between the students and the authorities.[36] No other union or society could be formed by the students unless recognized by the Council with the concurrence of the UGC. No student representation is permitted in the governing authority or in the academic authority except in the University Court and the Faculty.

THE RUHUNU UNIVERSITY COLLEGE

The Ruhunu University College was originally established as a Campus of the University of Sri Lanka in 1978 and was incorporated as a University College in 1979.[37] The Board of Management is the governing authority of the University College. It consists of the Director of the College, the Dean of each faculty and eight members appointed by the UGC on the same basis as that of a university. The Director who is appointed by the UGC from a panel of three nominations submitted by the Board of Management, presides over its meetings. He is also the Chief Executive and Administrative Officer of the College. The Board enjoys the same powers, functions and duties entrusted to a University Council.

The academic organisation of the University College is somewhat different to a university as the four faculties of the College are affiliated to similar faculties at the Universities of Peradeniya, Colombo and Kelaniya until such time the College attained the status of a University. The Academic Syndicate consisting of academics only is the senior academic body of the College. However, it is empowered to have control and the general direction of instruction, research and examinations of the College, only with the concurrence of each appropriate university. A faculty of the College consists of the usual membership of a faculty in a university with the addition of three representatives nominated from among the ex-officio members, by the corresponding Faculty of each University to which the College is affiliated. The faculty is responsible for all academic matters of the Faculty to the Academic Syndicate. The status and procedure with regard to the appointment of Deans and Heads of Departments are the same as in the case of a university.[38]

The Director of the College is responsible for the maintenance of student discipline. He is assisted by part-time Student Councellors appointed from among the members of the academic staff. No provision has been made for the appointment of a specific Standing Committee or a statutory body. However ad-hoc committees are being appointed in cases of serious breaches of discipline and in more serious cases the UGC could intervene if such a report is made by the Director. The Ruhunu University College Student Assembly has been established under the same provisions that are applicable to the University of Peradeniya and other universities. By 1981, the College had a student population of 615 which made it eligible to form a Student Assembly of 25 representatives.

THE OPEN UNIVERSITY OF SRI LANKA

The Open University of Sri Lanka, based on the British Open University model, is a novel feature in the Sri Lankan University System. According to the provisions of the Universities Act, it was established in July 1980, for the purpose of providing higher educational facilities to those persons who are not students of a University, a University Campus, a University College or an Institution recognized by the

UGC.[39] However, the system of governance adopted by the Open University is much more simple than the British model. The governing authority of the University is the Council consisting of thirteen members as shown in Table II. According to the original provisions in the Open University of Sri Lanka Ordinance No. 3 of 1980, other than the first Vice-Chancellor was to be elected by the Council and he was the ex-officio chairman of the Council. But even before the completion of three years of operation, the Ordinance has been amended in March 1983 in such a way that the Vice-Chancellor is to be appointed by the UGC from a panel of three names to be submitted by the Open University Council. This amended provision compares with the appointment of a Director of a University College. Yet, another amendment has debarred him from presiding over Council meetings, so that the Council elects a member from amongst those members who were appointed by the UGC to preside over its meetings.[40] Thus, from April 1983, the Vice-Chancellor ceased to be the Chairman and the Council elected a member to preside over its meetings.[41] When the term of office of the first Vice-Chancellor came to an end in May 1983, he was appointed by the UGC for a second term of office under the new procedure. Since no provision has been made for the establishment of a University Court and a Senate, the authority of the Court and the Senate too has been vested in the Council. Hence, the Open University Council consisting of thirteen members is the most powerful University Council in the Sri Lankan University system.

The academic organization of the University too is a very simple one. Two Boards of Studies with a group of disciplines in each have been set up. The grouping of the disciplines were derived from the two Institutions (i.e. the External Services Agency (ESA) and the Sri Lanka Institute of Distance Education (SLIDA)) which were absorbed into the Open University system and were named as the Board of Study in Humanities and Social Sciences and the Board of Study in Management Science and Technology. Each Board of Study has a Director who is responsible for the implementation of the teaching programmes of the Board and becomes an ex-officio member of the Council and the Board of Study concerned. Each Board of Study consists of the Vice-Chancellor (Chairman), the Director, not more than four teachers in the branch of learning on the staff of the Board, appointed by the Council, one member in respect of each discipline concerned appointed by the Council from among other Higher Educational Institutions of the country and two members appointed from among those who have gained distinction in certain disciplines appointed by the UGC. The Boards of Studies are responsible to the Council for the control and general direction of instruction education, research and examinations in the branch of learning in respect of which the Boards are established. Each Board consists of several disciplines and the academics are recruited on that basis.[42] As the methods of imparting knowledge is similar to that of the British Open University, support staff plays an important part in the implementation of the teaching programmes of the University while a major proportion of the academic support comes from the academics of the sister universities on a part-time basis. The Open University has a regional organization with six regional centres and several study centres. The Council has decided to set up Regional Academic Services Boards consisting of senior academics from near-by universities in each of the six regions. These centres are located in the capital cities of the regions concerned so that it would be convenient for the students to travel to the centres for their tutorials, practicals and/or demonstration classes or seminars.

In the Open University likewise, the Vice-Chancellor is responsible for the student discipline. No specific Standing Committee or Statutory body exists for the purpose. However, the necessity to have any elaborate machinery does not arise as the University does not have in campus students. So far the University has not elected a Student Assembly on the basis of the provisions of the Universities Act, as the present ordinance may have to be amended to provide for a more flexible organization in the Open University in view of its Island-wide organization as well as the non-availability of the students in Campus.

In an examination of the two systems of university governance in Australia and Sri Lanka, major differences as well as similarities are evidenced. As far as the establishment of an Australian University is concerned, Monash University Act states that the University is a body politic and copporate, consisting of a Council, the professors, all members of academic staff, members of the staff other than the teaching staff, as may from time to time be designated in that behalf of the Council and the graduates and the students of the University. Thus, making the entire university community including outside members of the governing authorities, past graduates and students members of one grand corporation, whereas, the Sri Lankan Universities Act merely confers corporate status on the University and proceeds to state that all such powers of the University provided by the Act or any appropriate Instrument, should be exercised by the Council. Further the power and authority of the University to make appointments which is a usual power of any legal person is subordinated to the authority of the UGC by requiring the governing authority of a university to abide by the schemes of recruitment and the procedures for appointment laid down by the UGC. On the other hand, in Sri Lanka the establishment of a University could be determined by the Minister in consultation with the UGC whereas in Australia it could be done only by a new Act of Parliament. Further the Australian Acts have not vested any authority of intervention in the hands of either the State or Federal Minister whereas the Sri Lankan Act gives such wide powers of intervention, the Minister could go to the extent of dissolving the governing authority, removing the Vice-Chancellor and appoint a person of his choice as Competent Authority to run the University or order the closure of a university under certain situations.

All Australian Universities, with the exception of ANU and James Cook have appointed the Governor of the State as the Visitor of the University concerned. His connection with the university is intended to be of a formal and ceremonial nature. However, any member of the body politic of the university could petition the Visitor for intervention as in the case of Professor Orr of the University of Tasmania.[43] But, in reality, the invoking of the jurisdiction would probably lead to a decision in accord with an opinion prepared by the State Attorney General, since in the present context no state Governor would act except on official advice. In Sri Lanka, the President of the Republic whenever he is present at any Degree Awarding Ceremony; he is required to preside such a Convocation and not the Chancellor of the University. In Australia, the governing authority is at liberty to elect the Chancellor from among themselves or from outside, eventhough the established convention is to elect an eminent person outside the University Community for this honorary position, whereas in Sri Lanka an eminent person from outside the University Community is nominated by the President thus depriving the Council having its own choice. An Australian University Chancellor is a ex-officio member and the Chairman of the governing authority, whereas his counterpart in Sri Lanka is not even a member of the governing authority thus depriving him any active participation in university governance other than being the ex-officio chairman of the University Court and at Convocations in the absence of the President. On the other hand all Australian Universities elect a Deputy or a Pro-Chancellor from among the members of the Council whereas there is no counterpart in Sri Lankan system as no such provision is made in the enabling Act.

The Vice-Chancellor is appointed by the governing authority in Australia, whereas in the Sri Lankan system except in the Open University he is appointed by the Chancellor, on being elected by the University Court. While he is an ex-officio member and the chairman of the Council and Senate and the Chief Academic and Administrative Officer in all conventional universities in Sri Lanka; he is only an ex-officio member and Chief Executive Officer in many Australian Universities whereas in a few instances he is also the ex-officio chairman of the senior academic body. The Open University of Sri Lanka is unique in both systems where the Vice-Chancellor is appointed by the UGC from a panel of three nominations submitted by the governing authority and a member of the Council from among those appointed by the UGC is elected to be the Chairman of the Council. The peculiarity in this model is that unlike in the Australian system chairman of the Council is not an officer of the University, not being the Chancellor himself. All Australian Universities have at least one Deputy Vice-Chancellor while there is no counterpart in Sri Lankan system eventhough such provision exists in the Act.

The composition of the governing authorities of the two systems as shown in Tables I and II above stand far apart. In the Australian system all sections of the University community; such as key officials, academics, undergraduates, post-graduates and non-academics and well wishers such as past graduates of the university with a wide range of community interests have been included while the Sri Lankan system includes only the academics other than the ex-officio factor and the UGC appointees. As far as the power and authority is concerned, the

Australian governing bodies have the full authority to decide the internal governance and administration of the University within the finances available as the TEC allocates block grants for the recurrent expenditure and capital grants for approved projects. Many enabling Acts have left even the academic organization in the hands of the governing authority, thus leaving room for the governing body to create the structures needed by Statutes or by resolutions of the Council and delegate certain types of authority to such bodies. The Macquarie University has set up its Academic Senate by a resolution of its Council whereas at Flinders, Academic Committee is a committee of the Council while many others have created the senior academic body by Statutes. But in Sri Lanka, the academic organization and their powers and functions are determined by the Act itself without having any flexibility. On the other-hand, the power and authority of the Sri Lankan governing authorities are restricted by general and specific powers, duties and functions vested in the UGC and the Minister whereas, invariably the Australian governing authorities have the ultimate responsibility for the conduct and management of the affairs of a University. In the Australian system the governing body is authorised to delegate any of its powers and functions except the power of delegation and making Statutes, to a committee of the governing body or to a member or in certain instances to any officer of the university.[44] But a Sri Lankan governing body could delegate only the power to make appointments to junior grades, in the non-academic staff and such delegation too could be to the Vice-Chancellor only.[45] There is student representation in each of the senior academic bodies in Australia while the University of Sydney has gone to the extent of having 26 student representatives in its Academic Board whereas the Sri Lankan counterpart is considered to be a sacred body where the junior academics and students should not be present.

Most Australian Universities have Convocations consisting of the members and past members of the University governing authority, officers and all past graduates including those who obtained their higher degrees and sometimes diplomas from the University. A convocation often have the right to consider all matters concerning the university and make recommendations as well as to report on matters referred to it by the governing authority. In many cases, the Convocation elects members to the governing body and in certain instances acts as a bi-cameral legislature for Statutes, By-laws and Regulations made by the governing body. However, in the Sri Lankan context, the term 'Convocation' refers only to the Degree Awarding Ceremony. Eventhough the Sri Lankan University Court is much different on the basis of composition to an Australian Convocation, there are some similarities with regard to the powers and authority. It elects the Vice-Chancellor who becomes a member and the ex-officio chairman of the governing body, acts as a bi-cameral legislature for Statutes proposed by the Council and also acts as a public forum in reviewing university business, of course in the nature of a post-mortem.

In the area of student discipline, almost all Australian Universities have set up machinery and procedures to deal with student discipline by means of subsidiary legislation made by the governing authority. The Australian University Corporation gives full credit to the corporate membership of the students by granting them full-membership of the Committees of Inquiry or the Proctorial Board or the Discipline Committee as the case may be to inquire into the incidents of indiscipline in universities. But in Sri Lanka, under the present system no statutory bodies or committees have been set up, except to say that the Vice-Chancellor or the Director of a University College is responsible for the student discipline and on more serious cases the UGC will act on a report by the Vice-Chancellor. The practice is to get the Senior Student Counsellor or the Director Student Welfare to inquire into the simple cases of indisciple while ad-hoc committees consisting of senior academics are set up for more serious offences and in still more serious instances, ad-hoc committees consisting of practicing lawyers and/or senior academics are set up. Student participation in inquiries against students has not yet been recognized in Sri Lanka. The University Union enjoying corporate status as a common forum for the entire university community and past graduates, which is a common feature in all Australian Universities has no counterpart in the Sri Lankan system. While the student unions in Australian Universities are encouraged to affiliate with the student organizations of other institutions, the Sri Lankan Student Assembly is debarred from affiliating with any other organization and the powers and functions are limited in scope.

Thus it could be concluded on the broad outlook of the two systems of governance as it appears in the Commonwealth Universities Year Book there are more similarities than differences. For instance both systems inherited a colonial past as well as the influence of British University traditions and some American influence; the Universities in both systems have the Chancellors, Vice-Chancellors and Registrars as key University Officials; the Council is the governing authority, while the academic organization consists of a senior academic body comprising of representatives of different units of the academic organization such as Faculties, Schools, Institutes, Departments and Centres; the Universities are established by Acts of Parliament; the Head of the State has some ceremonial role; they have a co-ordinating authority with the power of allocating funds while the funds are provided by the government under a system of free education. However, in a closer examination of the enabling Acts of Parliament and the actual functioning of the two systems there are many significant differences which can only be fully understood in the light of the different societal contexts which the two systems serve.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. De Silva, S.F., A Regional Geography of Ceylon, Colombo, The Apothecaries Ltd., 1954, pp.1-50.

2. The Association of Commonwealth Universities, The Commonwealth Universities Year Book - 1982, London, p.2.

3. University Grants Commission, Universities of Sri Lanka - Handbook 1981, Mortlanka Press, Colombo, 1981.

4. The University of Sydney Calendar - 1982.

5. The University of Ceylon Calendar - 1964-65, the Ceylon University Press, Colombo, 1965.

6. Cowan, R.W.T. (ed),Education for Australians, F.W. Cheshire, Melbourne, 1964, pp.121-122.

7. The Association of Commonwealth Universities, op.cit. p.3.

8. Australia, Report on Australian Universities (Murray Committee) Canberra, 1957.

9. Australian Universities Commission Report 1960.

10. Tertiary Education Commission Act No. 25 of 1977.

11. The Association of Commonwealth Universities op.cit.p.5.

12. The Universities Act No.16 of 1978 - Sri Lanka.

13. Competent Authorities were appointed by the Minister of Higher Education to the University of Moratuwa in 1980 and to the University of Sri Jarjenrardenepura in 1983.

14. The Australian Vice-Chancellors Committee Reports.

15. The Association of Commonwealth Universitics, op.cit. p.10.

16. Section 124 of the Universities Act No. 16 of 1978.

17. Part XI of the Universities Act of 1978.

18. The Association of Commonwealth Universities, op.cit. p.

19. The University of Sydney - Calendar 1983, p.5.

20. Ibid., pp.95-136.

21. Monash University Calendar 1983, p.9.

22. Ibid., pp.22-174.

23. The Flinders University of South Australia - Calendar Volume I, 1983, p.8.

24. Ibid. pp.9-128.

25. James Cook University of North Queensland - Calendar 1983, p.1-2.

26. Ibid., pp.31-160.

27. The Australian National University - Calendar 1982.

28. The Australian National University - Calendar 1970, pp.11-272.

29. Thenuwara Gamage D., The Organization and the Governance of the University of Sri Lanka, unpublished M.Ed. Admin. Dissertation submitted to the University of New England, Armidale, 1979.

30. The University of Ceylon Ordinance No. 20 of 1942.

31. The Universities Act No. 3 of 1978.

32. Dumbarra Campus (amendment) Order, published in the Govt. of Sri Lanka Gazette Extraordinary No. 55/26 of 28.09.1979.

33. Campus Board Ordinance No. 3 of 1979.

34. Postgraduate Institute of Agriculture Ordinance No. 9 of 1979.

35. Section 15(X) of the Universities Act.

36. Student Assembly Ordinance No. 1 of 1979.

37. Ruburra University College Order published in the Govt. of Sri Lanka Gazette Extraordinary No. 16/16 of 29.12.78.

38. Part IX of the Universities Act of 1978.

39. Open University Order published in the Govt. of Sri Lanka Gazette Extraordinary No. 87/10 of 08.05.1980.

40. Open University of Sri Lanka Ordinance (Amendment) published in the Govt. of Sri Lanka Gazette Extraordinary No. 238/16 of 31.03.1983.

41. Mr D.B.I.P.S. Sirikiardhana who is the Secretary to the Ministry of Public Administration and also had won the 1982 presidential Award of being the best public officer in Sri Lanka; has been elected to be the Chairman of the Open University Council since April, 1983.

42. Open University of Sri Lanka Ordinance No. 3 of 1980.

43. McCaig, Robert (ed), University Administration in Australia, Macquarie University printery, North Ryde, 1978, p.95.

44. The Monash University Act of 1958.

45. Section 45 (2) (xii) of the Universities Act.

TAKING A 'BYTE' OUT OF THE NEW COMPUTER-INDUCED NEO-COLONIALISM: A REPORT OF AN AUSTRALIAN INITIATIVE

H.M. SUNGAILA and A.R. SHORTEN

INTRODUCTION

Comparative education is concerned with the salient issues with which educational systems around the world must grapple.[1] Less than a decade ago Altbach pointed to one such issue: that of neo-colonialism in education in the Third World.[2] In this paper we raise another. By way of analogy with Albach's work we aim to show that education in smaller countries like Australia and New Zealand may well be facing a new era of neo-colonialism - computer-induced. The discussion which follows highlights major aspects of the problem of attempting to develop and maintain an intellectual and cultural independence in a new age of high technology. Then, in the report which this paper makes on an Australian attempt to develop some indigenous computer-assisted instructional material, micro-aspects of the problem are dealt with in an area of the curriculum in which the development of indigenous material is perhaps more vital than most: namely, the teaching of history. From these considerations certain guidelines emerge, which we offer to all those others who share our concern for indigenous, creative endeavour in computer-assisted instruction.

A COMPUTER-INDUCED COLONIALISM?

It may be overstating the case to suggest that education in Australasia is about to enter a period of computer-induced colonialism. Altbach distinguished three features of such a period: first, that the control of education was not in the hands of those being educated; secondly, that the colonized did not decide the content, medium, format and uses of education;

thirdly, that the schools were not set up to meet the needs which the colonized perceived, but rather those of the colonizer.3

It is true that we still have in Australia today an internal colonialism - that to which Aboriginal children are subjected. This has been acknowledged4 and has been well documented.5 Aboriginal children are held to educational ransom in many Australian classrooms, where, for example, from their earliest days at school, language skills are demanded of them which these children have not had the opportunity to develop; and opportunities are denied them for the physical exploration and manipulation of objects, so that they cannot acquire information about such objects in a way they are culturally endowed to do.

But, paradoxically, it is not necessarily the case that the development of indigenous, computer-assisted instuctional material should perpetuate this internal colonialism. On the contrary, it could contribute a great deal to the alleviation of this undesirable situation. Computer-assisted instruction embraces a range of strategies: from drill and practice work, through diagnostic and remedial work, to data analysis and simulation. In the latter, reality is represented by a model which is supposed to behave like some part of the real world. Simulation can take the form of a game in which the student is able to take control of one aspect of the situation being modelled. He or she can make decisions, negotiate, develop alternative strategies, test them, experience the outcome of choices made, and develop some insight into the different factors involved and their importance. It is in the field of simulation that we believe the computer can be put to best use in instruction.

And, it has been argued elsewhere,6 that it will be through giving Aboriginal children an opportunity to exert some power in a play situation in the classroom, that something might be done to redress that sense of powerlessness, that sense of being "born losers", which stands so much in the way of Aboriginal children even attempting to learn, much less succeeding at it! In other words, computer-assisted instruction could assist, not in perpetuating the domination of the white teacher colonizer, but in setting the Aboriginal child free to learn.

It is to foreshadow much of the ensuing discussion to add here that such computer simulation games should deal with the reality the majority of Australian Aboriginal children experience - a rural reality, action-packed with floods and droughts, bush fires and locust plagues, kangaroo shoots and wild pig hunts. The objectives of such games need not, of course, be purely affective. They could range from a primary focus on language development - where the students are simply being introduced to a number of new words - to a social studies emphasis: for example, on the precariousness of the success of the kangaroo hunt, and, by way of on harm, to a realization on the part of all Australian children, Aboriginal and white alike, of the success the Aboriginal people experienced in what is a demanding hunting exercise.

A COMPUTER-INDUCED NEO-COLONIALISM?

But just as computer-assisted instruction need not lead to Australian white-colonizer domination in the classroom, as long as material true to the Australian Aboriginal child's cultural experience is presented, neither need there be a new computer-induced, neo-colonialism in the white child's educational experience, provided there is extensive, indigenous, computer instructional material created. But some reflection on aspects of neo-colonialism in Third World education, as identified by Altabch, seems to suggest that, in this new technolgocial era in education, countries like Australia and

New Zealand, which are at the periphery of high technology development, will suffer a similar sort of educational domination to that exerted over the so-called independent, Third World countries by the industrialized world. For it is other countries which, by virute of their size, wealth, technological development and well-established research and develoment centres in computer assisted instuction, will constitute the centres of educational excellence on which Australia and other countries like her will come to depend for the hardware and software of modern educational technology. As Altbach wrote of the Third World, post-independence experience in education, "... if the technologies, models and techniques are foreign, strong elements of neo-colonialism enter into the equation."7

After all, the infrastructures of government,educational, and industry which we experience today are still basically those of a labour-intensive, colonial era. A computer-intensive society demands a computerized educational system - not one in which machines replace people, but one in which educational organizations are re-structured to effect the best possible interaction of people, hard-ware and soft-ware. Just what form this re-organization should take is difficult to visualise, because there are no readily avialable models. Not only that, as the Third World experience has pointed up, the cost of changing educational structures is very high.8 In post-independent Third World countries, indigenously created text-books should have been produced, but few were forthcoming, because text-book development is an expensive and time-consuming proposition. Likewise, in countries on the periphery of high technology development, there will be few, indigenous, computer-assisted instructional packages because of the time, expertise and money that the development of such material demands.

The school-based curriculum development movement in Australia is already in danger of foundering for lack of time and expertise in curriculum development, but the creation of whole new systems of computer-assisted and computer-managed instruction calls for a range of skills which are at an even greater premium in Australia at the present tiem. Such developments would demand, hard-ware wise, personnel skilled in the development and maintenance of machinery and facilities, computing and control devices, networks for communication interaction, the organization of education material flows and engineering support for monitoring. The software aspects of such systems would require personnel skilled in the design and development of models, algorithms and programs, catalogues and documentation, work instructions, teaching and learning standards, administrative laws and regulations, the organization of information flows and of system memory. New educational personnel would be needed for the development, implementation and monitoring of each element in both the hardware and software aspect. And traditional personnel would need to be re-educated as learning diagnosticians, learning "perscription" specialists, interdisciplinary liaison specialists, counsellors and community learning facilitators.[9]

The constraints on the development of new technological infrastructures and the creation of indigenous, human, hardware and software resources for Australasian education in the computer age, are just those which militated against radical departures from pre-independence, educational patterns in Third World countries. The market is small; local printing and publishing facilities are not competitive with multi-national corporations; high costs are involved in changing or extending teacher education programs; in re-educating teachers; in conducting in-service programs. We have to import technological expertise, make use of computer expertise from abroad, expend funds on licences for new "compunications" innovation. In the meantime, a subtle foreign control over education will be exerted, as we become increasingly more dependent on other more technologically advanced countries for educational goods and services - as we adopt or adapt their educational objectives, use their instructional models, and exploit their support materials, pretests and post tests, students' manuals and work-sheets, teachers' guides and resource guides and program listings.

As the Third World countries could not meet their "book hunger", so will we not be able to meet the hunger for computer software and instructional support materials to which the current proliferation of micro-computers in Australian schools is already giving keen edge. Not only are too few, indigenous, instructional packages being produced, but too few which meet local, much less state or national priorities, if indeed any such priorities have been established! In the meantime, very sophisticated production standards and methods of distribution for computer software have already been set up in Australia by multi-national, hardware firms, software and publishing companies. While these are mainly concerned with their own commerical activities, as were the private business firms, publishers and film companies which operated in Third World countries, they can only likewise further a new computer-induced neo-colonialism, as they distribute materials which cannot avoid reflecting the orientations of other countries and their cultures.

Of course, as Altbach himself recognized, no nation or culture is truly independent in terms of its intellectual life.10 There must be exchange for the intellectual growth of a nation and its further cultural and technological development. But, as Altbach pointed out, there should never be an "unfavourable balance of intellectual payments" or the control of the intellectual life of a nation, will fall into foreign hands.

WHAT CAN BE DONE ABOUT IT?

As every comparative educationist is well aware, experience might substitute for experiment. That is why we would like to draw attention to what we regard as a pioneering Australian attempt in the production of indigenous, computer software, curriculum material for the teaching of Australian history. A detailed account of this work was recently presented at the Australian Computer Education Conference held at Latrobe University in May 1983, 11 but the main features of the project, commenced in 1979, may be briefly recapitulated here. The chief objective of the project was to use the microcomputer as a tool for the teaching of Australian History in the middle secondary school. The strategy parameters of the project were defined in the light of this objective:

(i)there had to be maximum access to the computer by the individual pupil, even if the History teacher had available only one microcomputer for the use of his or her class, and thus effective classroom strategies had to be developed;12

(ii) the historical data base had to refer not only to a topic in the study of which legitimate use could be made of quantitative evidence, but it had also to be of a volume sufficient to warrant the use of a microcomputer for data storage retrieval and analysis;13

(iii) further the data had to be such that it could be encoded without gross distortion, but susceptible to decoding using analytic concepts within the grasp of middle secondary school students;14

(iv) the program had to be such that it did not preempt the development of skills in historical thinking;[15]

(v) and finally the computerized historical database had to be integrated with other primary and secondary source materials, for genuine historical teaching and learning demands the use of a range of source materials.[16]

In the instructional materials developed for the teaching of Australian History a variety of classroom strategies were used to enable the students to develop skills of historical inquiry. Some of that historical inquiry could only be carried out by retrieving and analysing the data stored in the computerized historical database. In the course of this inquiry the students experienced the historian's frequent frustration at the incompleteness of available evidence, and the potential and limitations of computer technology. Student response during the classroom trials of part of one unit, revealed much approval of the microcomputer work, coupled with the complaint that there was not enough of it - a complaint being remedied as the drafts are being finalized and further units developed.[18] Further work in this project has left no doubt that experienced classroom teachers have a significant role to play in the development of appropriate computer software for Australasian schools, and that teachers if given sufficient encouragement, are willing and able to use the microcomputer as an educational tool, provided that its use is consonant with relevant and valid curricular objectives.

SOME EMERGING GUIDELINES

What then are the guidelines which should govern the encouragement of Australasian initiatives in the development of microcomputer software for schools? First, it must be accepted that there is a need for such initiatives to be encouraged. It is clear that policy questions of national significance must quickly be determined: who should decide how and what our teachers teach and our children learn; what should be the aims of using computers in education; how should our educational systems be restructured to effect the best integration of human resources and technology? It is equally clear that in determining the answers to these questions it is unlikely that any national policy will deny the validity of the need for the development of innovative teaching materials, particularly in the culture dependent curriculum areas of Australasian History and the Social Sciences.

However, the commerical reality is that the local Australasian market is a small one. Thus a second guideline emerges. It must also be accepted that Australasian initiatives in the development of microcomputer software, especially for the culture-dependent curriculum areas, need public sector support. Of course, this second guideline involves yet a further demand upon the public purse, but perhaps, like certain Third World Countries did in a desperate bid for intellectual independence,[19] it is not inconceivable that the importation of foreign instructional material could be restricted to assist the growth of an indigenous, educational, microcomputer software industry.

A third guideline also emerges from what has been discussed in this paper. Computers were developed for science, commerce and industry. In the development of the use of computers in education it is essential that educators play a key role. Our experts in the various disciplines which the curriculum embraces, and especially our experienced practising classroom teachers, must play a key role in the development of educational, microcomputer software for our schools.

In conclusion it might be said that unless firm guidelines are promptly clarified and adopted, our indecisiveness will make us vulnerable. It could place the destiny of our educational system at the mercy of foreign intellectual, cultural and technological expertise. It may be that there will be only one school in the global village and it will not be ours, unless we begin to 'byte' our way to cultural freedom now!

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Altbach, P. et al. Comparative Education, Macmillan : New York, 1982, p.3.

2. Altbach, P. et al. Education and Colonialism, Longman : New York, 1978.

3. Ibid., p.15.

4. Ibid., p.21.

5. Sungaila, H. "I Don't Want to Learn". University of New England : Armidale, 1981.

6. Ibid. p.75.

7. Altbach, P. op. cit., p.32.

8. Op. cit., p.33.

9. Sungaila, H. and Hunt, A., "The Microprocessor and Education in the 1980's - A Closer Encounter with the Third Kind?" The Australian Comparative and International Education Society, International Symposium in Education. Bendigo, November, 1981.

10. Altbach, P. op.cit., p.301.

11. Shorten, R., "Of Shoes - and Steps - and Sealing Wax" : Of Bytes and Loops and Strings", in A.D. Salvas (ed.) Could You Use A Computer (Proceedings of 1983 Australian Computer Education Conference), Computer Education Group of Victoria, Melbourne, 1983, pp.318 - 330. The project was undertaken by the writer, Mrs. A Feehan and Mrs. E. McCoy, of the Monash University, Faculty of Education, Methods and Practice of Teaching History Staff; and Mrs. A. McDougall, Lecturer in Computer Education, Faculty of Education, Monash University. They were greatly assisted by the critical advice and commentary prepared at various stages during the development of the project by a number of experienced History teachers.

12. *Ibid*., p. 324.

13. *Loc. cit*.

14. *Loc. cit*.

15. *Ibid*., pp.324-25.

16. *Loc. cit*.

17. The preparation of three units of study was undertaken in the initial phase of the project. These are "Beyond the Breakers. Australia's Colonial Steamships, 1830 - 1910" A.R. Shorten and A. McDougall, 1982. "Beyond the Limits : Victorians and their Land, 1900 - 1939", E. McCoy and A. McDougall, 1982; "Beyond Hope : Australian Wommen in Two World Wars, 1914 -1918 and 1939-1945", A. Feehan and A. McDougall, 1982.

18. Shorten, A.R., *op.cit*., p. 326. Further units dealing with mainstream topics in Australian History are presently being prepared by Mrs. A. Feehan, Mrs. E. McCoy and Dr. A.R. Shorten.

19. Altbach, P. op.cit. p.323.